GESTA
REGUM ANGLORUM.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI

GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM,

ATQUE

HISTORIA NOVELLA.

AD FIDEM
CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM
RECENSUIT
THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY.

VOLUMEN I.



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PREFACE.

Biographical notice.

AMONG the Historians and Annalists who flourished in England before the close of the fifteenth century, WILLIAM, THE MONK OF MALMESBURY, occupies a conspicuous place. Of the personal history of this celebrated writer very little is known beyond what he himself has casually told. Tradition has not even preserved the names,[1] or the rank of his parents; and it is from incidental expressions in his work that the information is derived that one of them was a Norman, the other a Saxon.[2] It is evident, however, that they earnestly desired to give their son a literary education; and their solicitude was rewarded by the eminence he attained. The exact time of his birth has not been discovered.[3]

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[1] Leland, Cave, Tanner, Wharton, and other writers, state that his family name was Somerset, but their authority has not been ascertained.

[2] 'Quia utriusque gentis sanguinem traho.' Again, towards the conclusion of the second book, these words occur: 'Nec hæc dicens virtuti Normannorum derogo, quibus tum pro genere, tum pro beneficiis, fidem habeo.'

[3] 'In the "Commentary on Jeremiah," Malmesbury observes, that he "had long since, in his youthful days, amused himself with writing history, and that he was now forty years of age;" and in another place he mentions a circumstance which occurred in the time of King Henry, apparently implying that Henry was then dead. Now, admitting the expression of "long since" to denote a period of ten years, this,

He appears in early life to have shown an earnest love of study; and in the preface to his second book, where he gives a brief account of his youth, he observes—'For a long time past, thanks to my parents' care and my own diligence, I have been habituated to reading; a pursuit which had charms for me from my very childhood, and with my years I have found its attractions increase. In fact, my father brought me up to think that if I directed my attention to other pursuits, it would be a waste of life, and a hazard of reputation. Accordingly, I prevailed on myself, young as I was, to acquire a taste for that for which I could not, with credit to myself, show a distaste.' He then proceeds to state that he was orally instructed in logic, that he had devoted himself somewhat more closely to physic, and that he studied ethics in detail, which led him naturally to the cultivation of history. His labours in this last study he thus describes:—'Accordingly, after I had accumulated, at my own expense, various histories of foreign nations, I proceeded, as my leisure permitted, to inquire whether any records of my own nation worth transmitting to posterity could be found; for, not being content with the writings of antiquity, I myself became possessed

as his Histories of the Kings and of the Prelates were completed in the year 1125, must have been written about 1135, the time of Henry's death, and would of course place his own birth about 1095 or 1096.' Such is Mr. Sharpe's reasoning; but there does not appear to be sufficient ground for fixing on either of those years for Malmesbury's birth. The assumption that King Henry was only just dead, upon which the deduction rests, seems scarcely warranted by the passages cited. One fact, however, is clear, namely, that the author of a history upon which the first critics of modern times have pronounced the highest encomiums for learning and judgment, could barely have exceeded his majority at the time when he commenced and had even finished the greater portion of this work.

with a desire to write; not, however, for the purpose of exhibiting my own knowledge, but with the view of bringing to light matters which lie hidden and buried under the ruins of ages. Dismissing matters of trifling concern, I have amassed chronicles from every quarter, though it must be confessed I have not profited proportionably to the labour bestowed; for, after I had explored all the ground, I remained comparatively without information.'

It seems that Malmesbury passed the greater part of his life within the confines of the monastery whence he derived his name, devoting all his time, not occupied in religious and monastic duties, to literature; but there is, however, evidence that he visited the principal monasteries in the kingdom, for the purpose of collecting books.[1] Of his industry some idea may be formed, from the fact that he was the author of no less than twenty distinct works, all of which were written before he attained the fiftieth year of his age.[2] His zeal and abilities obtained for him

[1] Malmesbury elsewhere states that he collected many books for the library of his monastery; and he mentions others which he had seen at Canterbury, Bury St. Edmund's, &c.—Gale, iii. pp. 298. 376.

[2] The following is a list of Malmesbury's works; and Tanner attributes several others to him.

1. Gesta Regum Anglorum.
2. Historia Novella.
3. Gesta Pontificum.
4. Passio Sancti Indracti Martyris.
5. De Vita Sancti Aldelmi.
6. De Vita Sancti Dunstani Archiepiscopi.
7. Vita Sancti Patricii.
8. Miracula S. Benigni.
9. De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ.
10. Vita S. Wulstani Episcopi Wigorniensis.
11. Chronica.
12. Miracula S. Elfgifæ.
13. Itinerarium Joannis Abbatis Meldunensis versus Romam.
14. Expositio Threnorum Hieremiæ.
15. De Miraculis Mariæ Virginis.
16. De Serie Evangelistarum, nullo non genere carminis.
17. De Miraculis B. Andreæ.
18. Abbreviatio Amalarii de Ecclesiasticis Officiis.
19. Epitome Historiæ Haimonis Floriacensis monachi a Justiniano ad Carolum Magnum.
20. De Dictis Philosophorum.

a high reputation, and he was selected by the principals of several monasteries to write either the history of their foundations, or the lives of their patron saints. Though his own monastery appreciated his talents, and showed its sense of his learning by appointing him librarian, and afterwards precentor, of the establishment, and by offering him the dignity of its abbacy, none of its inmates had sufficient reverence for his memory to leave any written memorials of his life.[1] The precise time of his death is as uncertain as that of his birth; but, from the fact of his last work abruptly terminating in the midst of the most deeply interesting period of his time,—the events of the year 1142,—he is generally supposed to have died in that, or the following year.

These few passages contain all that is known of the life of the most judicious and best informed of all the early writers of English history.

Contents of this volume.

The two principal and by far most interesting works of William of Malmesbury — the GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM, and the HISTORIA NOVELLA — are printed in the following pages. The former comprises five, and the latter is limited to three books.

The 'Gesta Regum Anglorum.'

The first book of the GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM commences with a cursory sketch of the history of Britain, from its invasion by Cæsar, to the final departure of the Romans from England; and then proceeds with a synchronical history of the respective kingdoms of the Saxon

[1] Leland, who appears to have collected everything relating to him, indignantly observes, that in the monastery of Malmesbury the monks had then nearly lost all remembrance of their brightest ornament. Posterity, however, has not appreciated him the less for their indifference: his works will ever rank high amongst those of the writers of the dark ages.

dynasty, from the first settlement of that people in Britain, to the time when the several kingdoms were subjugated by Ecgberht, and consolidated into one empire.

The second book traces the history of the West-Saxon empire through the line of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish sovereigns, to the death of Harold, and the arrival of the Normans.

The third book is devoted to the reign of William the First.

The fourth and fifth books bring the history down to the year 1120. In the fourth book there is also a very interesting account of the first Crusade, with vivid sketches of the principal leaders therein engaged.

Period when written.

At what periods of his life Malmesbury commenced and finished the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum' cannot be positively ascertained. There seems to be some ground for supposing that it was written between the years 1114 and 1123;[1] and that he revised the work at a subsequent period, making several important additions to the text, and alterations in the language, whilst, in one or two instances, he substituted whole paragraphs for those which he had originally written.[2] He beseeched those who knew more than

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[1] An examination of every point connected with the subject has been made; but with anything beyond the mere result it seems unnecessary to burthen these remarks. That Malmesbury, after he had published his work, was in the constant habit of correcting it, is beyond doubt.

[2] An opinion has prevailed that Malmesbury originally ended this work with the third book. The Editor has not seen any MS. merely containing three books; and it seems to him doubtful whether the three first books were published by Malmesbury before the whole work was completed. Mr. Sharpe is, however, of the contrary opinion; but he has not assigned any reason for adopting it. Malmesbury's statement, in the preface to the fourth book, certainly favours the conclusion Mr. Sharpe has drawn. 'I am aware,' Mal-

be silent of Aethelweard, a noble and illustrious man, who attempted to render these chronicles into Latin; his object I could applaud, if his style did not disgust. Nor have I forgotten Eadmer's work, written in temperate graceful language, in which he takes a cursory glance at the times from Eadgar to William the First; and thence, taking a wider field, brings his copious and useful history down to the death of Archbishop Anselm.[1] So that, from the time of Beda, there is a period of two hundred and twenty-three years of which there is no history: thus the regular series of time halts in the middle, from want of a connected relation. Wherefore, as well out of love of my country as out of respect to those who have enjoined me to the undertaking, I have been induced to fill up the chasm, seasoning my crude materials with Roman salt; and, that my design may proceed with greater regularity, I shall cull somewhat from Beda, to whom I must often refer, glancing at some few things, but omitting more.'

Sources of his information.

The principal sources from which Malmesbury derived his History may be divided into three classes:

First — Authors and data still extant; such as Gildas, Nennius, Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, Saxon Laws, Asser, Aethelweard, Eadmer, Osberne, Gosceline, Hariulf, and other earlier writers, original charters, letters, and official documents.[2]

[1] Eadmer, when Malmesbury published his 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' had concluded his History with the death of Anselm archbishop of Canterbury. He afterwards continued it to the death of Archbishop Ralph, in 1122.

[2] It must not be inferred that Malmesbury always inserted, verbatim, original charters or letters; he merely abridges them: but occasionally he inserts the whole instrument.

Second — Materials derived from authorities now lost; such as metrical tales, historical tradition, reliques, charters, letters, and biographical notices.

Third — Personal knowledge of facts which he had himself witnessed, or had heard from credible persons.

His character as an historian.

As Malmesbury's object was to give a clear relation of events, he collected everything within his reach. He, however, more than once states that the result of his researches was by no means satisfactory. He observes—'I deem it necessary to inform the reader that I vouch nothing for the truth of long past transactions but the consonance of the time: the veracity of the relation must rest with its authors. Whatever I have recorded of later times, I have either myself seen, or heard from credible authority. Moreover, in either part, I pay but little respect to the judgment of my contemporaries; trusting that I shall gain with posterity, when love and hatred shall be no more, if not the reputation of eloquence, at least the credit of modesty.'

The facts which he has borrowed from preceding writers are so interwoven with his own remarks, that they are almost inseparable from his narrative. Everything which he thought necessary for the elucidation of the manners and customs of the people in the different periods of his history, or which exhibited their progress towards civilization, whether in government, laws, or the arts, is stated with considerable ability. When his materials are not abundant, or the historical facts uninteresting, he enlivens his work with anecdotes;[1] often painting in vivid

[1] In one place, after relating various anecdotes, he states that he will no longer torture the patience of his readers; though, if

colours the prominent traits of individual character, and depicting with artistical skill the trifling incidents or local transactions of his time.

His history has been compared to a drama, in which the story is presented entire, though the tediousness of continued narration is avoided.

He dedicates his work to the earl of Gloucester.

He dedicated his labours to his friend and patron Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of King Henry the First. This eminent person appears to have possessed great legislative and military talents, and to have been much attached to literature. He seems to have acted only from the purest principles of justice and duty, without pride, passion, or selfish ambition. Had he aspired to the throne when the nation had grown tired of Matilda and Stephen, he might possibly have gained it; but he chose rather to preserve his fidelity and honour inviolate. At the conclusion of the 'Gesta Regum,' Malmesbury thus addresses him: 'So devoted are you to literature, that, though distracted by such a mass of business, you yet snatch some hours to yourself, for the purpose either of reading, or of hearing others. Justly do you regulate your exalted rank in life, neither omitting the toils of war for literature, nor contemning literature, as some do, for military service. Here, also, the excess of your learning appears; for, whilst you love books, you manifest how deeply you have drunk of the stream. Many things are eagerly desired when not possessed; but no person will love philosophy, who shall not have thoroughly imbibed it.'

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he be not too partial to himself, a variety of anecdote can be displeasing to no one, unless he be morose enough to rival the superciliousness of Cato.

Malmesbury requests that no blame may attach to him, because his narrative often wanders from the limits of this country. He designed it, he said, as a compendium of many histories, although, from the larger portion relating to England, he entitled it the 'History of the Kings of England.' Title of the work.

It is to be regretted that so many pages of his work are filled with legendary tales and miracles; but, lest his veracity should be impeached,[1] he carefully gives his authority for them. It must also be remembered that miraculous tales were consistent with the current belief of his age; that they were greedily sought after by all classes; and that they were intimately connected with the religious belief of the people. Mr. Sharpe sensibly observes, on this subject, that no one ever thought of impeaching the judgment of Livy, or any other historian of credit, for insertions of a similar nature. Several passages in his work, however, could be adduced which seem strongly to favour the conclusion that Malmesbury was not himself a believer in the marvellous stories he relates. Alluding to the death of Aelfred the Great, and to the tradition of his spirit re-entering his body and wandering nightly through the buildings of the cathedral, he writes thus: 'These and similar superstitions, such as that the dead body of a wicked man runs about after death by the agency of the devil, the English hold with almost inbred credulity, borrowing Legendary tales.

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[1] As an instance, when speaking of Osuuald's remains (p. 73), he writes, 'Whether they remain at that place at the present day I venture not rashly to affirm, because I waver in opinion: if other historians have precipitately recorded any matter, let them be accountable. I hold common report at a cheaper rate, and affirm nothing but what is deserving of entire credit.'

them from the heathens, according to the expression of Virgil, "Morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras." '[1] A credulous man would scarcely direct attention to such a weakness, did he himself hold a similar belief. In one point of view, these marvellous tales are not without their use: they frequently contain, amidst their gross absurdities, curious and valuable information illustrative of manners, customs, and dresses, and in numerous instances throw considerable light upon the literature, arts, sciences, and commerce of the period to which they relate. Many of those tales are likewise so completely distinct from the main narrative as almost to justify the conclusion that they are interpolations. In some of the manuscripts which have been consulted, there are tales not usually found in the better class of manuscripts.

His impartiality as an author.

That William of Malmesbury was both a temperate and impartial writer, must be apparent to all who read his History: he wrote as he felt, lauding the virtuous and reproving the vicious; whilst he adduces, with high commendation, examples of virtue, his strictures on the vicious are pungent and deserved. When writing of William the First, he observes, 'Incited by different motives, both Normans and English have written of King William: the former have praised him to excess, alike extolling to the utmost his good and his bad actions; while the latter, out of national hatred, have laden their conqueror with undeserved reproach. For my part, as the blood of both people flows in my veins, I shall steer a middle course: where I am certified of his good

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[1] Æneid. x. 641.

deeds, I shall openly proclaim them, — his bad conduct I shall touch upon sparingly, though not to conceal it; so that neither shall my narrative be condemned as false, nor will I brand that man with ignominious censure, almost the whole of whose actions may reasonably be excused, if not commended.—My course will be to extenuate evil as much as is consistent with truth, and not to bestow excessive commendation even on good actions.'

That Malmesbury was a man of tried integrity and singular veracity, is manifest from his works. When he has a doubt on the subject of which he is writing, though it were currently believed in his day, his language is particularly cautious, and he throws all the responsibility for the facts he mentions on the authors from whom he derived them. His integrity.

His style, especially in his earlier works, is occasionally laboured; yet it abounds with choice and elegant phrases. Much of his work is written with classical taste; and although his language is usually concise, strong, and nervous, it is nevertheless sometimes verbose and obscure. It is impossible to read his works without discovering, from his frequent quotations, and successful adaptation of their phrases, that he had studied the Roman writers, and that his mind was imbued with their spirit and beauty. He has several times declared that he purposely varies his diction,[1] lest the reader should be disgusted by its sameness; and he seems to have been always anxious to avoid repetition. His style.

There appears, however, to be one radical His chronology.

[1] 'Præterea non indecens æstimo si multicolori stylo varietur oratio.'

defect in the plan pursued by Malmesbury in his History,—a fault of design rather than of inadvertence. Fearful lest his work should assume the character of a chronicle, he fell into the opposite extreme, and frequently relates circumstances without stating the exact year in which they occurred. He did this either in imitation of the Roman writers, or for the purpose of avoiding the difficulty of fixing each transaction to a particular year, there being such frequent discrepancies on those points in the sources whence he derived his information. It was not the custom of the Saxons to be very exact as to dates in their annals. In some copies of that invaluable relic—the Saxon Chronicle—events are recorded as occurring in given years, while in other copies the same events are referred to different years. But these discrepancies may now be easily remedied, as they arose from the fact of the authors of the chronicles commencing the year at different periods. At Peterborough, and the other monasteries founded by Aethelwold, the year was commenced on the 25th of March; but at Worcester, and the monasteries founded by Osuuald, it was considered to begin on the 25th of December: thus, transactions that occurred between Christmas-day and Lady-day are frequently, in the different copies of the Saxon Chronicles, referred to different years. The chronology of Asser, in his Life of Aelfred the Great, is occasionally inexact, as he sometimes states that Aelfred commenced his reign in one year, at other times in a different year. Aethelweard affixes dates to the commencement and termination of the reigns of many of the Saxon monarchs different from those assigned in the Saxon Chronicles. These writers, taking as the

basis of their history the copy of the chronicles which they had consulted, followed it, having no sufficient means of testing the correctness of the dates. Each monastery in the respective kingdoms of the heptarchy undoubtedly had an officer who at the termination of every year recorded the memorable occurrences, not only in the kingdom in which his monastery was situated, but also those events of which he had heard in the neighbouring kingdoms; it is therefore but natural to expect that discrepancies in dates will be found, especially when it can be established that the northern commenced the year at a different time from the southern writers. Moreover, in the manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle the dates are expressed in Roman characters; and it might easily occur in setting down III. or IIII, and other numerals, that an I. might be inserted or omitted, which error would of course affect the subsequent series. These facts were either not known or little regarded in Malmesbury's time; and as he must have observed many obvious discrepancies, and was unable satisfactorily to reconcile them, he may have adopted a plan which seldom required him to affix the exact date of a transaction. Not ambitious to be a mere chronographer, it was enough for his purpose to state that in a given reign an occurrence took place which produced certain effects; but whether it happened in the year 800, or 802, was a matter of no immediate moment, the plan of his work not requiring minute accuracy: but this want of exactitude has occasionally, when he has given the year, betrayed him into anachronism; and, in one or two instances, he has actually made the event precede the cause. To remedy this defect in some degree, and supply

his omissions in regard to dates, it has been deemed requisite in this edition of the work, to place the correct date in the margin when it is erroneous in the author, together with the exact date of every transaction, when the author has not furnished it. The authority for these will, in most instances, be found in a note at the foot of the page.

Previous editions of the present work.

It has already been stated that, as early as the year 1587, Jerome Commelin published at Heidelberg a volume entitled 'RERUM BRITANNICARUM, ID EST, ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, VICINARUMQUE INSULARUM AC REGIONUM, SCRIPTORES VETUSTIORES.' At page 281 of that work, under the title 'DE GESTIS ANGLORUM LIBRI TRES, INCERTO AUCTORE,' are contained excerpts from the three first books of Malmesbury's 'GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM;' but it is evident, from such occasional notes as 'Videntur hic non pauca deesse;' 'Multa hic quoque requiri videntur;' 'Desunt nonnulla,' &c.; but especially from the expression 'Incerto auctore,' that Commelin did not know that it was Malmesbury's 'GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM' from which the compiler of the MS. had taken his statements.[1]

London edition.

About nine years after the appearance of Commelin's volume, Sir Henry Savile published his well-known 'SCRIPTORES POST BEDAM,' in which is included Malmesbury's 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' 'Historia Novella,' and his 'Gesta

[1] The three last chapters in Commelin's volume are not, however, to be found in any copy of Malmesbury at present extant: it would therefore seem that the compiler of the MS. from which Commelin printed had introduced into his work other matter, obtained from another source. With the exception of these three chapters, Sir Thomas Phillipps' MS. No. 237, agrees with that from which Commelin printed.

Pontificum.' In dedicating his work to Queen Elizabeth, Sir Henry Savile passed this just eulogy on Malmesbury: 'Inter quos cum et narrationis fide, et judicii maturitate, principem locum teneat Guilielmus Malmesburiensis, homo, ut erant illa tempora, literate doctus, qui septingentorum plus minus annorum res tanta fide et diligentia pertexuit ut e nostris prope solus historici munus explesse videatur.'[1]

The manuscript from which Savile's edition was printed was either carelessly transcribed, or the volume was incorrectly printed: the text abounds with gross errors, which the table of errata printed at the end of the work very inadequately remedies. From occasional notices in the margin, it is evident that Savile consulted more than one manuscript: but instead of having followed any one in particular, he seems to have formed his text from several. The present Editor has not met with any manuscript which entirely agrees with Savile's text: the Royal MS. in the British Museum, 13. B. XIX. comes nearest to it, but does not thoroughly agree with it. Savile has no authority for dividing his work into chapters; but his sections are nearly the same as those found in the best manuscripts. The edition commonly called the London edition having become scarce, was reprinted, in the year 1601, at Frankfort, with a

Frankfort edition.

[1] An author of such acknowledged fidelity was not likely to remain for ever without being rendered into English, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes employed himself upon a translation of this work, but he never published the result of his labours; and the Reverend John Sharpe, in the year 1815, published his translation of this writer: Mr. Sharpe's notes are always replete with information. The extent to which the Editor has availed himself of the learning of this able translator will be seen in the foot-notes of each page.

considerably greater number of errors than are to be found in the London edition, though the Frankfort edition professes to embody in the text the corrections made in the table of errata of the London edition.

Present edition. The text of the present edition has been taken from a MS. written towards the close of the twelfth century, which formerly belonged to the abbey of Margan, founded by Robert earl of Gloucester, the nobleman to whom Malmesbury dedicated his work. This magnificent MS. now preserved among the Royal manuscripts in the British Museum, (Bibl. Reg. 13. D. II.) was selected, after a careful examination and comparison with other manuscripts, because it was found not only to be the least corrupted, but to contain proofs of the author's latest corrections. The only other MS. which agrees with the Royal Manuscript, though not so ancient by some centuries, is in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. From the various readings, and from many important alterations observable throughout, it is certain that the author made several corrections in his work after he had completed it; and it is believed that traces may be found of at least four distinct classes of copies of the 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' and of two of the 'Historia Novella.' No one can examine the various readings in the foot-notes of this edition without coming to the conclusion that the author was constantly employed in the correction and amplification of his work. Many of his alterations, it is true, are merely verbal; but they contribute greatly to the elegance of his diction. In some places severe expressions are modified and softened, whole passages are added,

and others are substituted for those originally written. It is not, however, to be inferred that all the various readings were Malmesbury's own alterations. Several are clearly owing to mistakes of the copyists of the different manuscripts.

The text of this volume will be found to vary considerably from that of Savile; but the variations between his edition and the present are preserved in the foot-notes, under the designation of the letter *S*. At first sight it might appear that too many variations in the different MSS. have been shown: but it will be sufficient to state that those variations only have been regarded which identify the manuscript referred to as belonging to a particular class; but when the variation has been clearly an error attributable to the copyist of the MS. and not peculiar to any particular class, it has not been thought necessary to increase the notes by inserting it. There is, however, one exception to this rule. Every word in the manuscript upon which the present text is formed has been faithfully preserved, howsoever trivial; and when the word was a palpable mistake of the copyist, the proper word, supplied from other MSS. has been inserted in the text, and the error noticed, with the authority upon which the amendment was made: but so correct is the MS. in question, that these instances are very rare.

By a careful comparison of the numerous MSS. a very important result has been gained. It is proved that there are various editions or classes of manuscripts, to one of which classes every manuscript of this author can be referred.

Manuscripts which have been examined.

The principal manuscripts which have been referred to are denominated in the foot-notes

by the letters *A. S. C. D. E. F. G. H. K. L. M.*

A. The Harleian Manuscript No. 261; the Cottonian Manuscript Claudius C. IX.; both in the British Museum: and Sir Thomas Phillipps' Manuscript No. 2777.

S. Savile's text, both London and Frankfort editions.

C. The Royal Manuscript 13. B. XIX.; the Harleian Manuscript No. 447; both in the British Museum.

D. The Royal Manuscript 13. D. V.; the Royal Manuscript 13. B. XVII.; both in the British Museum.

E. The Royal Manuscript 13. D. II. in the British Museum; Sir Thomas Phillipps' Manuscript No. 8239.

F. The Manuscript in the library of the College of All Souls, Oxford, probably of the same class as *E*.

G. The Bodleian Manuscript, Laud 548, at Oxford, apparently of the same class as *L*.

H. The Bodleian Manuscript, Hatton 54, seemingly of the same class as *A*.

K. The Bodleian Manuscript, Bodley 712, agreeing with the class *C*.

L. The Arundel Manuscript No. 35, in the British Museum; and the Manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 14.

M. The Arundel Manuscript No. 161, a verbatim copy of the Royal Manuscript 13. D. V.

Several other manuscripts preserved at Oxford, at Cambridge, in the British Museum, and in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, have been consulted; but, as they appear to have been taken from some exemplar of one or other of

the MSS. above mentioned, it has not been thought necessary to refer to them.

This seems to be the fittest place to state, that, in the marginal and foot notes, the most approved orthography of Anglo-Saxon proper names has been adopted; a plan which appeared to the Editor the most advisable, in consequence of the variety of opinions prevailing on this subject. No two authors spell a name in the same manner; and it was thought best to follow contemporaneous orthography when it could be obtained, and, next to that, the orthography used nearest to the time when the individual lived. In the manuscripts which have been consulted, the orthography of proper names occurs in a variety of modes, and even in the same manuscript the same name is often variously spelt; for this reason it was thought useless to give, among the various readings at the foot of the pages, the variation in the spelling of proper names, and (except in a few instances obviously wrong) the orthography found in the Royal Manuscript 13. D. II. which is the authority for the present text, has been adhered to. In the Index, which has been compiled with much care and talent by Mr. Fehon, will be found all the modes of spelling proper names reduced to uniformity, and arranged under one head; so that no inconvenience can arise from the variations in ancient orthography. It should be also stated that the Index forms a good digest of the work itself. Of the Notes generally it may be sufficient to observe, that they have only been introduced when the meaning of the author did not appear to be sufficiently obvious, and required explanation, or when any error required to be cor-

Marginal and foot notes.

rected. When dates have been introduced in the margin which did not occur in the text, a note stating the authority has generally been given.

It may possibly be thought that the present edition is overburthened with notes; but it must be remembered that the peculiar plan of Malmesbury's History in many cases renders some comment or annotation to the text necessary; and little has been done that will not either elucidate the author's meaning, or save the reader the trouble of referring to works not always at hand. In every instance it is believed that the authority for the statement given is derived either from contemporaneous sources, or from the best accessible authority.

Conclusion. The Editor cannot close these prefatory remarks without returning his thanks to those friends who have assisted him during the progress of this work through the press; but more particularly to Sir Harris Nicolas, G.C.M.G., and to John Holmes, Esq. of the British Museum. To Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. not only are the Editor's thanks especially due, but those also of the English Historical Society, he having kindly lent several valuable MSS. of Malmesbury to the Editor, for the purpose of collation. From Mr. Samuel Bentley it would be unjust to withhold a public acknowledgement of the very great advantage this work has derived from the skill and assiduity of his establishment: those only who have been engaged in passing a similar work through the press can adequately appreciate the services for which an editor may be indebted to the vigilance and sagacity of the printer.

The Editor cannot conclude these remarks without naming his brother, Mr. William Hardy, to whom he is indebted for constant and valuable assistance in collating manuscripts, and correcting the press. Had that assistance been rendered by a stranger, he should certainly not have been satisfied with so inadequate an acknowledgement.

Record Office, Tower,
May 22, 1841.

[1] EPISTOLA AUCTORIS,

ROBERTO CONSULI GLOECESTRENSI,

HENRICI REGIS FILIO,

DICATA.



OMINO venerabili et famoso Comiti [2] Roberto, filio regis, Willelmus Malmesbiriæ monachus salutes, et, si quas valet, orationes. Virtus clarorum virorum illud vel maxime laudandum in se commendat, quod etiam longe positorum animos ad se diligendum invitat; unde inferiores superiorum virtutes faciunt suas, dum earum adorant vestigia, ad quarum aspirare non valent exempla. Porro totum ad majorum redundat gloriam, quod ipsi et bonum faciunt, et minores ad se amandum accendunt. Vestrum est igitur, O duces, si quid boni facimus; vestrum profecto si quid dignum memoria scribimus; vestra industria nobis est incitamento ut, quia pericula vestra paci nostræ impenditis, vos vicis-

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[1] *Epistola.*] In MSS. *D.E.* this dedication occurs at the end of the third book; in some MSS. (*C.K.*) it appears at the commencement of the work, but in others (*A. G. H. L.*) it is not found at all.

[2] *Roberto, filio regis.*] Robert earl of Gloucester was the natural son of King Henry the First. He married Maud, or Mabell as she is sometimes called, the eldest co-heir of Robert Fitz-Hamon, and in her right had the honour of Gloucester. He died on the 31st of October 1147.

sim per labores nostros omni ævo inclarescatis. Hinc est quod Gesta Regum Anglorum, quæ nuper edidi, vobis potissimum [1]consecranda credidi, domine Comes, venerabilis et merito amabilis. Nullum enim magis decet bonarum artium fautorem esse quam te, cui adhæsit magnanimitas avi, munificentia patrui, prudentia patris; quos cum æmulus industriæ lineamentis repræsentes, illud peculiare gloriæ tuæ facis quod literis insistis. Quid quod etiam notitia tua dignaris literatos, quos vel invidia famæ vel tenuitas fortunæ fecit obscuros. Quia enim natura indulget sibi, quod quis probat in se ipso non improbat in altero, consentaneos igitur sibi mores experiuntur in te literati, quos citra intellectum ullius acrimoniæ benignus aspicis, jocundus admittis, [2]invitus dimittis. Nihil plane in te mutavit fortunæ amplitudo, nisi ut pene tantum benefacere posses quantum velles. Suscipe ergo (virorum clarissime) opus, in quo te quasi ex speculo videas; dum intelliget tuæ serenitatis assensus ante te summorum procerum imitatum facta quam audires nomina. Continentiam autem [3]operis prologus primi libri exponit; quem si placuerit legere, materiam totam poteris de compendio colligere. Illud a vestra dignitate impetratum velim, ut non mihi vertatur vitio quod sæpe per excessum alias quam in [4]Anglia peregrinatur narratio; volo enim hoc opus esse multarum historiarum breviarium, quamvis a majori parte vocaverim Gesta Regum Anglorum.

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[1] *Consecranda.*] *D. E.*; consectanda, *C.*

[2] *Invitus.*] *D. E.*; munificus, *S.*; munus, *C.*

[3] *Operis.*] *D. E.*; hujus operis, *S. C.*

[4] *Anglia.*] *D. E.*; gente nostra, *S. C.*

PROLOGUS.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS WILLELMI MONACHI MALMESBIRIENSIS IN LIBRO PRIMO DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.

RES Anglorum gestas, [1]Beda, vir maxime doctus et minime superbus, ab adventu eorum in Britanniam usque ad suos dies plano et suavi sermone [2]absolvit: [3]post eum non facile, ut arbitror, reperies qui historiis illius gentis Latina oratione texendis animum dederit. Viderint alii si quid earum rerum vel jam invenerint, vel post hæc inventuri sint; noster labor, licet in quærendo solicitas duxerit excubias, frustra ad hoc tempus consumpsit operam. [4]Sunt sane quædam vetustatis indicia chronico more et patrio sermone per annos Domini ordinata. Per hæc senium oblivionis eluctari meruerunt quæcunque tempora post illum virum fluxerunt. Nam de [5]Elwardo,

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

[1] *Beda.*] Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Londini: Sumptibus Societatis, 1838.

[2] *Absolvit.*] *C.D.E.M.*; describit, *A.S.L.* (For an explanation of the letters used to denote the various readings in the MSS. see the Introduction.)

[3] *Post eum . . . consumpsit operam.*] Malmesbury makes a similar observation in various parts of this work.

[4] *Sunt sane quædam vetustatis indicia.*] He refers to the Saxon Chronicle.

[5] *Elwardo.*] Elward, or Ethelward, a noble Saxon, descended from King Ethered, as he himself informs us in his work alluded to by Malmesbury. He lived towards the close of the 10th century. His Chronicle, beginning with the Creation, and ending in the year 975, is printed amongst the 'Scriptores post Bedam.' No

illustri et magnifico viro, qui chronica illa Latine aggressus est digerere, præstat silere; cujus mihi esset intentio animo, si non essent verba fastidio. Nec vero nostram effugit conscientiam domini [1] Edmeri sobria sermonis festivitate elucubratum opus; in quo a rege Eadgaro orsus usque ad Willelmum primum raptim tempora perstrinxit, et inde licentius evagatus usque ad obitum [2] Anselmi archiepiscopi, diffusam et necessariam historiam [3] studiosis exhibuit. Ita prætermissis a tempore Bedæ ducentis et viginti et tribus annis, quos iste nulla memoria [4] dignatus est, absque literarum patrocinio claudicat cursus temporum in medio: unde mihi, tum propter patriæ caritatem, tum propter adhortantium auctoritatem, voluntati fuit interruptam temporum seriem sarcire, et exarata barbarice Romano sale condire; et, ut res ordinatius procedat, aliqua ex his, quæ sæpe dicendus Beda dixit, deflorabo, pauca perstringens, pluribus valefaciens.

Procedat itaque primus libellus de Anglorum gestis succinctus, ex quo Britanniam occupavere usque ad regem Egbirtum, qui, varia sorte profligatis regulis, totius insulæ pene nactus est monarchiam. Sed cum quatuor ex Anglis potentissima pullulaverint regna; Cantuaritarum, West-Saxonum, Northanimbrorum, Merciorum, quæ om-

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MS. of his work is now known, that which Savile is supposed to have used having been destroyed by fire in the Cotton Library, 23 Oct. 1731.

[1] *Edmeri . . . opus.*] Historia Novorum, ab anno 1066 ad 1122. This work was edited by Selden, in 1623. Edmer was a monk of Canterbury, and a pupil of Archbishop Anselm. He brought down his History at first to the death of Anselm, but afterwards continued it to the death of Archbishop Ralph, A.D. 1122.

[2] *Anselmi.*] *A. D. E. F. G. H. L. M.*; Radulfi, *S. C. K.*

[3] *Studiosis.*] *A. S. C. F. L. M.*; studiosus, *D. E.*

[4] *Dignatus est.*] *A. S. C. E. F. L.*; dignatus est sublevare, *D. M.*

nia singillatim (si erit otium) persequi meditamur; prius de illo dicendum, quod et adolevit maturius et [1]exaruit celerius. Quod profecto fiet expeditius, si regna Orientalium Anglorum et Orientalium Saxonum post aliorum tergum posuero, quæ et nostra cura et posterorum memoria [2]putamus indigna.

Secundus liber ad adventum Normannorum producet lineam regalium temporum.

Tres reliqui in gestis trium regum versabuntur; his adjectis quæ diebus [3]illorum alibi acciderunt, et celebrem sui notitiam, celebritate gestorum, exigunt. Hæc ita polliceor, si conatui nostro divinus favor arriserit, et me præter scopulos confragosi sermonis evexerit, ad quos Elwardus, dum tinnula et emendicata verba venatur, miserabiliter impegit. Si quis vero, [4]ut ille ait, si quis hæc quoque captus amore leget, sciat me nihil de retroactis præter cohærentiam annorum pro vero pacisci, fides dictorum penes auctores erit. Quicquid vero de recentioribus ætatibus apposui, vel ipse vidi, vel a viris [5]fide dignis audivi. Cæterum, in utramvis partem, præsentium non magnipendo judicium; habiturus, ut spero, apud posteros, post decessum amoris et livoris, si non eloquentiæ titulum, saltem industriæ testimonium.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

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[1] *Exaruit.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; aruit, *C.*

[2] *Putamus indigna.*] *D. E. F. L. M.*; parum putamus digna, *S. C.*; *A.* incorrectly reads 'digna,' omitting 'parum.'

[3] *Illorum.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; eorum, *C.*

[4] *Ut ille ait.*]
Si quis tamen hæc quoque, si quis
Captus amore leget.
Virg. Ecl. VI. 9.

[5] *Fide dignis.*] *A.S.D.E.L.M.*; dignis, *C.*

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBRI QUINQUE.

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS.

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini quadringentesimo [1]quadragesimo nono venere Angli et Saxones Britanniam; adventus causam, licet usquequaque decantatam, non ab re fuerit hic intexere: et, ut quod intendo clarius elucescat, altius ordiendum. Romani Britanniam, per Julium Cæsarem in [2]Latinas leges jurare compulsam, magna dignatione coluere; ut et in annalibus legere, et in veterum ædificiorum vestigiis est videre. Ipsi etiam principes, qui toti pene orbi imperitarent, huc aucupatis occasionibus [3]adnavigare, hic ævum solebant transigere. Denique [4]Severus et [5]Constantius, imperatores amplissimi, [6]ambo apud insulam diem functi et [7]supremo sunt honore funerati: quo-

Arrival of the Romans, A.C. 55.

Severus, A.D. 211. Constantius, A.D. 306.

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

[1] *Quadragesimo.*] *S. C. E. F.*; sexagesimo, *A. D. L. M.*

[2] *Latinas.*] *D. E. M.*; Latias, *A. C. F. L.*; latas, *S.*

[3] *Adnavigare.*] *E.*; libenter adnavigare, *A. S. C. D. F. L. M.*

[4] *Severus.*] Septimus Severus assumed the purple on the murder of Pertinax, 13th April, A.D. 193.

[5] *Constantius.*] Constantius Chlorus, upon the abdication of Diocletian in the year 305, assumed the title of Augustus.

[6] *Ambo apud insulam diem functi.*] Severus died 4th Feb. A.D. 211, at York, where also died Constantius, 25th July 306.

[7] *Supremo sunt honore.*] *A. D. E. F. L. M.*; summo ibi honore, *C.*; summo sunt honore, *S.*

rum Severus, ob provinciam ab incursatione barbarorum muniendam, celebrem illam et vulgatissimam [1] fossam de mari ad mare duxit. Constantius, (ut aiunt,) vir magnæ civilitatis, [2] Constantinum ex Helena stabularia susceptum, egregiæ spei juvenem, reliquit hæredem: qui ab exercitu Imperator consalutatus, expeditione in superiores terras indicta, magnam manum Britannorum militum abduxit, per quorum industriam, triumphis ad vota fluentibus, [3] brevi rerum potitus, emeritos et laboribus functos in quadam parte Galliæ ad occidentem super litus oceani [4] collocavit; ubi hodieque posteri eorum manentes immane quantum coaluere, moribus linguaque nonnihil a nostris Britonibus degeneres.

Maximus, A.D. 383. § 2. Succedentibus annis, in eadem insula, [5] Maximus homo imperio aptus, si non contra fidem ad tyrannidem anhelasset, quasi ab exercitu impulsus purpuram induit, statimque in Galliam transitum parans, ex provincia omnem

Constantinus, A.D. 407. pene militem abrasit. [6] Constantinus etiam

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[1] *Fossam.*] This celebrated work, known as the wall of Severus, is here described as a 'fossa,' and not as a wall. Beda also writes, 'Non muro, ut quidam æstimant, sed vallo distinguendam putavit.'—(Lib. I. cap. 5.) When writing of the second mission to the Romans, (A.D. 416,) Beda again alludes to the 'vallum' of Severus: 'Murum a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes quæ ibidem ob metum hostium factæ fuerant, ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat, firmo de lapide conlocarunt;' (lib. I. c. 13;) he nowhere, however, refers to the work which had been previously commenced by Hadrian or Antoninus.

[2] *Constantinum.*] Constantine the Great.

[3] *Brevi rerum potitus.*] *A. S. D.E.F.L.M.*; brevi rerum potitus imperio, *C.*

[4] *Collocavit.*] See note [1] at p. 7.

[5] *Maximus.*] A native of Spain, (though by Ethelward, Henry of Huntingdon, and some others, claimed as a native of this island,) was proclaimed Emperor in Britain, in the year 383, by the unanimous voice both of the soldiers and of the provincials. He was vanquished by Theodosius, taken prisoner, and put to death by the soldiers, A.D. 388. Florence of Worcester refers the death of Maximus to the year 386.

[6] *Constantinus.*] In the reign of Honorius (A.D. 407) there was a revolt in Britain, and two

quidam non multo post ibidem spe nominis imperator allectus, quicquid residuum erat militaris roboris exhausit: sed alter a Theodosio, alter ab Honorio interfecti, rebus humanis ludibrio fuere: copiarum quæ illos ad bella secutæ fuerant, pars occisa, pars post fugam ad superiores Britannos concessit. [1]Ita cum tyranni nullum in agris præter semibarbaros, nullum in urbibus præter ventri deditos reliquissent, Britannia omni patrocinio [2]juvenilis vigoris viduata, omni exercitio artium exinanita, conterminarum gentium inhiationi diu obnoxia fuit.

§ 3. Siquidem, e vestigio, Scottorum et Pictorum incursione multi mortales cæsi, villæ [3]succensæ, urbes subrutæ, prorsus omnia ferro incendioque vastata; turbati insulani, qui omnia tutiora putarent quam prælio decernere, partim pedibus salutem quærentes fuga in montana contendunt, partim sepultis thesauris, quorum plerique in hac ætate defodiuntur, Romam ad petendas suppetias ire intendunt. [4]Romani, miseratione infracti, nihilque antiquius æstimantes quam fessis

Invasion of Scots and Picts.

pseudo-emperors, Marcus and Gratian, were successively chosen and murdered. A private soldier of the name of Constantine was then chosen, in honour of the memory of Constantine the Great. After a reign of about three years, he was taken prisoner at the siege of Arles, and murdered 28th Nov. 411, and Honorius was restored to the empire.

[1] *Ita cum tyranni . . . obnoxia fuit.*] According to Gildas and Beda. Britain owed its first ruin to Maximus, who carried with him into Gaul the youthful and military population of the country. Archbishop Ussher, who has diligently collected the legends of this island on the Continent, states (Antiquitat. Britan. Eccles. pp. 107, 108,) that the whole emigration consisted of thirty thousand soldiers, and one hundred thousand plebeians, who settled in Bretagne. Various periods, however, have been assigned for the British settlement there, and great obscurity still prevails on the subject.

[2] *Juvenilis.*] *A.D.E.F.L.M.*; militaris, *S. C.*

[3] *Succensæ.*] *E.*; incensæ, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[4] *Romani . . . operam suam exhibuere.*] There seems little doubt that the Romans were several

sociorum rebus opem [1]porrigere, semel et iterum proturbato hoste, operam suam exhibuere: postremo, [2]longinquæ peregrinationis pertæsi, adventum in posterum [3]excusant; discerent ipsi potius a Martio patrum calore non degenerare, animis et armis patriam defensare. Adjiciunt verbis formam muri pro sui tuitione construendi, ad propugnacula excubandi, in hostem si necesse sit procursandi, et cætera quæ disciplina militaris exigit exequendi; [4]post monita, lachrymis miserorum comitati, discedunt: abeuntes [5]fœlix fortuna prosequens, votis [6]eorum restituit. Tum vero Scotti, desperati reditus audito nuncio, [7]et incunctanter et plus solito in Britones irruere, murum complanare, paucos resistentes opprimere, prædas non ignobiles domum agere: at vero vulgus terræ reliquum ad palatium advolat, regis sui fidem implorans.

DE WORTIGERNO.

Wyrtgeorne. § 4. Erat eo tempore rex Britanniæ Wortigernus nomine, nec manu promptus nec consilio bonus, imo ad illecebras carnis pronus, omniumque fere vitiorum mancipium; quippe quem [8]subjugaret

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times successfully applied to for assistance against the Picts and Scots. The learned, however, do not agree as to the exact time when these applications were made. Upon this subject see Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, and Ussher's 'Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates.'

[1] *Porrigere.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; impendere, *C.*

[2] *Longinquæ peregrinationis pertæsi.*] *A. S. C. E. F. L.*; pro longinquæ peregrinationis pertæsi labore, *D. M.*

[3] *Excusant.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; incusant, *C.*

[4] *Post monita . . . discedunt.*] The precise time when the Romans finally quitted Britain is still involved in the greatest obscurity.

[5] *Fœlix.*] *A. S. C. E. F. L.*; infœlix, *D. M.*

[6] *Eorum.*] *E.*; suorum, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[7] *Et incunctanter.*] *D. E.*; omit 'et,' *A. S. C. L. M.*

[8] *Subjugaret.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; subjugarat, *A.*

avaritia, [1]inequitaret superbia, [2]inquietaret luxuria: denique, ut in [3]gestis Britonum legitur, filiam suam spe regni solicitatam stupro fregerat, et ex ea filium tulerat. Hic in tantis tumultibus rem parvi ponderans, opesque regni commessationibus abliguriens, scortorum lenociniis deperibat. Excitatus tamen aliquando perstrepentium vocibus, super statu publico in medium consulit, [4]sententias magnatum suorum explorans. Itaque, ut ad summam redigam, placuit omnibus Anglos et Saxones e Germania evocandos, armis validos, sedibus vagos, geminum futurum commodum, ut armis invicti facile hostes propulsarent; et hactenus locorum incerti, pro ingenti annumerarent beneficio si vel squalidum solum, jejunumque cespitem, ad habitandum suscepissent: cæterum, nunquam eos aliquid contra patriam molituros, [6]quia genuinam feritatem morum emolliret memoria beneficiorum. Probato consilio mittuntur in Germaniam legati, spectabiles sane viri, et qui digne personam patriæ induerent.

Invitation to the Saxons, A.D. 447 [5]

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[1] *Inequitaret.*] *C. D.E. F.*; inquietaret, *S.*; inquietarat, *A.*

[2] *Inquietaret.*] *S C. E. F.*; inequitarat, *A.*; inquinaret, *D.*

[3] *Gestis Britonum legitur . . . ex ea filium tulerat.*] Nennius, ed. Eng. Hist. Soc. § 39. The story of Vortigern defiling his own daughter is highly improbable, and must be rejected as a mere fable.

[4] *Sententias.*] *A. S. D.E.L.M.*; sententiam, *C.*

[5] 447.] Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons, as detailed by some of the early writers, may derive some countenance from the expressions of Gildas and Beda. The invitation is supposed by Pagi (Critica in Baronium) to have been given in the year 447. From the testimony of Nennius, it might be inferred that the arrival of Hors and Hengest was more by accident than design, 'Interea venerunt tres ciulæ a Germannia *expulsæ in exilio*, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist' (§ 31); but it is probable that the lot of exile had fallen upon them according to the custom of emigration among the Germans, as narrated by Malmesbury, § 5.

[6] *Quia.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; quoniam, *S. C.*

DE ADVENTU GERMANORUM IN BRITANNIAM.

Their arrival, A.D. 449.[1]

§ 5. Germani audientes rem votis mille petitam a se ultro expostulari vicino pede paruere, celeritatem negotii lætitiæ stimulis maturantes: valedicentes igitur arvis genitalibus, renunciantes parentum affectibus, fortunæ vela committunt, placidoque ventorum favore, tribus longis navibus quas illi [2]Ceolas dicunt, Britanniam allabuntur. Venerunt autem et tunc, et sequenti tempore, de tribus Germaniæ populis, Anglis, Saxonibus, [3]Jutis. Omnis enim fere terra quæ trans oceanum Britannicum sub septentrionali axe jacet, quia tantum hominum germinat, non injuria Germania vocatur, [4]licet multis provinciarum limitibus distincta. Quapropter sicut hi quibus id muneris est lascivientes arboris ramos solent succidere, ut reliquorum vitæ succo suo possit sufficere, sic incolæ aliquorum expulsione matrem alleviant, ne tam numerosæ prolis pastu exhausta succumbat: sed, ut facti minuant invidiam, sorte ducunt eliminandos. Inde est quod illius terræ homines [5]invenerint sibi ex necessitate virtutem, ut natali solo ejecti peregrinas sedes armis [6]vendicent: sicut Wandali, qui olim protriverunt Affricam; sicut Gothi, qui possederunt Hispaniam; sicut Longobardi, qui adhuc obsident Italiam; ut Normanni, qui, partem Galliæ armis domitam incolentes, vocaverunt Normanniam. Ex hac ergo Germania primo ve-

Germany, why so called.

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[1] 449.] This year is also assigned by Beda (lib. I. c. 15) for the arrival of the Saxons. See note to Beda, ed. Eng. Hist. Soc. p. 34.

[2] *Ceolas dicunt.*] *E. L.*; cheulas dicunt, *D. M.*; ceolas vocant, *C.*; ciulas vocant, *S.*; theolas dicunt, *A.*

[3] *Jutis.*] One MS. (Cott. Claud. IX.) reads 'Wichtis.'

[4] *Licet multis provinciarum limitibus distincta.*] *S. D.E.F.*; *A. L. M.* omit 'multis;' *C.* omits the entire sentence.

[5] *Invenerint.*] *D. E. M.*; invenerunt, *A. S. C. L.*

[6] *Vendicent.*] *A.C.D.E.L.M.*; vendicarent, *S.*

nit Britanniam manus, parva quidem, sed quæ paucitatem suam [1]virtute fulciret, ducibus Hengisto et Hors, commodæ indolis fratribus, haud obscura stirpe apud suos oriundis: erant enim abnepotes illius antiquissimi Woden, de quo omnium pene barbararum gentium regium genus lineam trahit, quemque gentes Anglorum deum esse delirantes, ei quartum diem septimanæ, et sextum uxori suæ Freæ, perpetuo ad hoc tempus consecraverunt sacrilegio. In quibus vero locis Britanniæ Angli vel Saxones vel [2]Jutæ habitationem locaverunt, [3]Beda non tacet. Nostrum propositum est, quamvis affluat materia, stilo non indulgere, sed tantum necessaria quæque libare.

Hengest and Hors.

§ 6. [4]Venientibus igitur Anglis undique occursum: a rege impertitæ gratiæ, a populo effusus favor, data fide acceptaque, et tradita Tanatos insula incolatui eorum subventum. Accessit et pactum, ut illi [5]junctis umbonibus sudores suos patriæ impenderent, recepturi emolumenta militiæ ab his quorum saluti vigilias prætenderent. Paululum in medio moræ, et ecce Scottos adventantes, facilique negotio cessuram sibi ut supra prædam æstimantes, Angli invadunt: illi vix dum collato pede fugam componunt, fugitantes eques [6]consecutus a tergo cecidit. Sic non semel certatum: cumque semper victoria consentiret Anglis, ut fere fit in rebus mortalium, et istis successus accendit audaciam, et illis timor aluit ignaviam; eoque res processit ut nihil magis Scotti quam cum Anglis manus conserere caverent.

They settle in the isle of Thanet.

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[1] *Virtute.*] *S. E. L.*; virtutibus, *D. M.*

[2] *Jutæ.*] One MS. (Cott. Claud. IX.) reads 'Wichti.'

[3] *Beda non tacet.*] Beda, lib. I. c. 25.

[4] *Venientibus igitur Anglis.*] Hengest and Hors landed at Ypwinesfleot (Ebsfleet, in the isle of Thanet). Sax. Chron.

[5] *Junctis umbonibus.*] *A. C. D. F. L. M.*; umbonibus, *E.*; invictis umbonibus, *S.*

[6] *Consecutus.*] *C. D. E. M.*; insecutus, *A. S. L.*

Hengest sends for more of his countrymen.

§ 7. Interea Hengistus, non minus acer ingenio quam alacer in prælio, aliquos ex suis (non abnuente rege) patriam remittit, qui regis et populi inertiam, insulæ opulentiam exponant, ampla venire volentibus præmia proponant. Illi mandata[1] gnaviter exequuntur, brevique cum sexdecim navibus revertuntur, adducentes [2]filiam Hengisti, virginem, ut accepimus, quæ esset et naturæ miraculum et virorum spectaculum. Regressis adornatur convivium : jubet Hengistus filiam fungi pincernæ munere, ut regis accumbentis oculos pasceret. Nec id frustra fuit. Nam ille (ut semper in fœminarum decorem adhinniebat) statim et formæ gratia et gestuum elegantia sauciatus animum, potiendi puella spem imbibit, nec distulit quin nuptias peteret patrem volentem cogens: ipse enim astu primo negare tam humiles nuptias rege indignas allegans. Postremo, quasi gravatus, in sententiam transiit, totam Cantiam prò munere accipiens, ubi jamdudum omnis justitia sub cujusdam [3]gorongi laborabat regimine, qui tamen sicut omnes reguli insulæ Wortigerni substernebantur monarchiæ: nec contentus hac liberalitate barbarus, sed abutens regis imprudentia, persuadet uti a Germania [4]fratrem et filium virtutis viros evocet, scena composita, ut quia ipse ab oriente provinciam defensitaret, illi quoque ab aquilone Scottos frænarent: ita rege connivente ipsi (circumnavigata Britannia) Or-

Their arrival with the daughter of Hengest.

Her marriage with Wyrtgeorne.

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[1] *Gnaviter exequuntur.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; gnaviter executi, *S.*; generaliter executi, *C.*

[2] *Filiam Hengisti.*] Geoffrey of Monmouth is the first writer who gives the name of Hengest's daughter: he calls her Ronwen, a name by no means common among the Anglo-Saxons. In Capitulo Historiæ Nennii (XXXVI.) the daughter of Hengest is called Romwenna, but in the text the name is omitted.

[3] *Gorongi.*] This word has been frequently mistaken for a proper name. Camden defines it a Guorong—a viceroy, or free man. See Camd. Brit. col. 187, edit. Gibson, Lond. 1695.

[4] *Fratrem et filium.*] Otha and Ebusa were the names of Hengest's brother and son.

cades insulas adiere, easque gentes cum Pictis et Scottis pari ærumna involventes, in aquilonali parte insulæ, quæ nunc Northanimbria vocatur, tunc et deinceps assedere: nullus tamen ibi regio insigni vel nomine usus usque ad Idam, de quo regalis Northanimbrorum adolevit [1] linea. Sed hæc inferius: nunc quod cœperam attexam.

Saxon settlement in Northumbria.

DE WORTEMER FILIO WORTIGERNI, ET DE ARTURO.

§ 8. Vortemer filius Wortigerni haudquaquam ultra dissimulandum ratus, quod se Britonesque suos Anglorum dolo perverti cerneret, ad expulsionem eorum mentem intendit, simulque patrem ad idem audendum [2] incendit. Hoc igitur auctore post annos septem adventus eorum fœdus fœdatum, et per viginti annos [3] frequenter levibus præliis, sed quater [4] ut chronica tradit, omnibus copiis depugnatum: prima congressione æqua utrinque fortuna discessum, dum hi [5] Hors fratrem Hengestii, illi [6] Katigis alterum regis filium magno

Wortemer.

A.D. 455. 457. 465. 473.

Death of Hors, A.D. 455.

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[1] *Linea.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; prosapia, *C.*

[2] *Incendit.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; accendit, *C.*

[3] *Frequenter levibus præliis.*] For an account of his battles, and the subsequent treachery of the Saxons, see Nennius, § 43, 44, 45, edit. E. H. S.; and compare Matth. Westm. An. 460 et seq. who has incorporated the British accounts into his Chronicle.

[4] *Ut chronica tradit.*] Malmesbury alludes to the Saxon Chronicle, which gives these dates of the battles: at Æglesford (Aylesford, on the Medway), A.D. 455; at Crecanford (Crayford), in 457; at Wyppedesfleote (Ebsfleet, in the isle of Thanet, near Stonar,) in 465; and the fourth in the year 473, the place not mentioned. Nennius, § 44, describes the battles as having been fought 'super flumen Derevent' (Darent, in Kent, probably at the spot where it is joined by the Cray), at Episford, or Rit Hergabail, supposed to be Aylesford, and 'in campo juxta Lapidem tituli' (Stonar, in the isle of Thanet; by some, Folkstone, in Kent).

[5] *Hors.*] Hors was slain at the battle of Aylesford in 455, and is supposed to have been buried at Horsted, in Kent. Beda, lib. I. § 35, writes, 'in orientalibus Cantiæ partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne.' Nennius calls the battle Episford.

[6] *Katigis.*] Called by Nennius Categirn, and mentioned as the second son of Wyrtgeorne.

justitio desiderarent. In cæteris cum Angli superiorem semper manum referrent pax convenit, incentore belli Guortemer fatali sorte sublato, qui, multum a facilitate patris abhorrens, egregie regnum moderaretur si Deus sivisset. Sed, eo extincto, Britonum robur emarcuit, spes imminutæ retro fluxere; et jam tunc profecto pessum issent, nisi [1]Ambrosius, solus Romanorum superstes, qui post Vortigernum monarcha regni fuit, intumescentes barbaros eximia bellicosi Arturis opera pressisset. [2]Hic est Arthur de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirant; dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ, sed veraces prædicarent historiæ, quippe qui [3]labantem patriam diu sustinuerit, infractasque civium mentes

Death of Wortemer.

Ambrosius.

Arthur.

[1] *Ambrosius.*] Of Ambrosius Aurelianus, or the time he lived, nothing certain is known; Beda observes that his parents had been 'purpura induti.' Gildas describes him as 'vir modestus, qui solus fuit comis, fidelis, fortis, veraxque, forte Romanæ gentis, qui tantæ tempestatis collisione, occisis in eadem parentibus, purpura nimirum indutis superfuerat.' And Nennius (§ 48), speaking of him, says, 'qui fuit rex inter omnes reges Britannicæ gentis.' He has been confounded with Natan-leod, of the Saxon Chronicle, who lost his life, with five thousand of his subjects, in a battle fought in the year 508, against Cerdic the West-Saxon. See further on this subject Ussher, Primord. p. 1116, and Carte's Hist. Engl. vol. i. pp. 197—205.

[2] *Hic est Arthur.*] He was the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales. Malmesbury here observes of him, that he was a man worthy to be celebrated, not by idle fictions, but by authentic history. It has by some been doubted whether he ever existed, because Gildas, a coeval historian, makes no mention of such a person. Higden, the author of the Polychronicon, appears to have been the first writer who doubted whether such a king as Arthur ever reigned in Britain. The following is a translation of his words: 'Concerning Arthur, whom Geoffrey, alone of chronologers, extols, many wonder how the things which are related of him can be true; because, if Arthur, as Geoffrey relates, acquired thirty kingdoms, subdued the king of France, killed Lucius, governor of the republic of Italy, why have all historians, Roman, French, Saxon, and British, omitted so many great acts of such a man, when they have related so many deeds of inferior men?' Geoffrey of Monmouth first collected from the bards of Wales and Armorica the traditions of his exploits, and translated them into Latin. Concerning Arthur, see Nennius, § 56.

[3] *Labantem.*] *S. E. F. L.*; labentem, *D. M.*

ad bellum acuerit. Postremo, in [1] obsessione [2] Badonici montis, [3] fretus imagine Dominicæ [4] matris, quam armis suis insuerat, nongentos hostium solus adorsus incredibili cæde profligarit. Contra, Angli, quamvis vario fortunæ lusu rotarentur, vacillantes suorum acies adventu compatriotarum supplere, audentioribus animis in ferrum ruere: paulatim, cedentibus accolis, per totam se insulam extendere, simul Dei non adversante consilio in cujus manu est omnium [5] imperiorum mutatio: sed hæc processu annorum; nam, vivente Wortigerno, nihil contra eos novatum. Interea Hengistus, vitio quodam humani ingenii ut quo plus habeas plus ambias, fraude subornata generum ad convivium cum trecentis suorum invitat: cumque frequentioribus poculis invitatos ad tumultum animasset, et ex industria unumquemque salsa dicacitate perstringeret, primo ad jurgia, mox ad arma ventum. Ita Britones, ad unum omnes jugulati, animas inter vina [6] vomuere: rex ipse captus, datis tribus provinciis, libertatem redemit, servitutem exuit. Post hæc, anno tricesimo nono adventus sui,

Siege of Bannesdon, A.D. 516.

Treacherous slaughter of the British nobles.

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[1] *Obsessione.*] *D. E. L. M.*; obsidione, *S. F.* Beda, misunderstanding Gildas, incorrectly assigns the year 493 to the siege of Bannesdon: according to the Annales Cambriæ, it was fought A.D. 516.

[2] *Badonici montis,*] said to be Caer-Badon, the Hill of Bannesdon, near Bath. Gildas places it near the mouth of the Severn. See note to Gildas, p. 34, edit. E.H.S.

[3] *Fretus imagine Dominicæ matris.*] Gildas, § 56, 'Arthur portavit imaginem sanctæ Mariæ virginis super humeros suos,' &c. Upon this subject see Ussher, Primord. p. 639. In the Annales Cambriæ, these words occur: 'LXXII. annus. (A.D. 516.) Bellum Badonis in quo rex Arthurus portavit crucem Domini nostri Jesu Christi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in humeros suos, et victor fuit.' Nennius describes this circumstance as having taken place in the battle 'in Castello Guinnion;' but the slaughter of nine hundred and sixty men in one day by the hand of Arthur he assigns to the battle in Monte Badonis, § 56.

[4] *Matris.*] *D.* reads 'adminiculo' after 'matris.'

[5] *Imperiorum.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; regnorum, *C.*

[6] *Vomuere.*] *D. E. L. M.*; evomuere, *S.*

Death of Hengest, A.D. 488.

Hengistus diem clausit; vir qui successus suos non minus fraudibus quam viribus urgens, [1]multum genuinæ sævitiæ indulgens, omnia cruentius quam civilius agere mallet. Reliquit filium [2]Eisc, qui, magis tuendo quam ampliando regno [3]intentus, paternos limites nunquam excessit. Consumptisque annis viginti quatuor, filium Oth, ejusdemque filium Yrmenricum, habuit successores, [4]sibi quam avo aut proavo similiores: amborum temporibus quinquaginta et tres anni deputantur [5]in chronicis: cæterum, si singillatim vel communiter regnaverint, non discernitur.

Aesc, A.D. 488.

Oth and Eormenric, A.D. 512.

DE ETHELBIRHTO REGE, ET DE ADVENTU SANCTI AUGUSTINI.

Aethelberht, A.D. 565.

§ 9. Post illos Ethelbirtus, Yrmenrici filius, [6]rerum potitus, [7]quinquaginta annos et tres juxta [8]chronica, [9]juxta Bedam quinquaginta et sex [10]exegit: viderit lector quomodo hanc dissonantiam componat; [11]nam nos eam, quia admonuisse suffecerit, in medio relinquimus. Hic, primis pubescentis regni temporibus, adeo vicinis regibus fuit ridiculo, ut uno et altero pulsus prælio vix suos

[1] *Multum.*] *E.*; multumque, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[2] *Eisc.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; *A.* omits 'Eisc;' *L.* reads 'ejus.'

[3] *Intentus.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; contentus, *C.*

[4] *Sibi quam avo aut proavo similiores.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; quam avo aut atavo similiores, *A. L.*

[5] *In chronicis.*] The chronicles now extant do not contain this information.

[6] *Rerum.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; regnum, *A.*

[7] *Quinquaginta annos et tres.*] Although the Saxon Chronicle states (under the year 565) that Aethelberht held his kingdom fifty-three winters, yet, under the year 616, it states that he died in A.D. 616, after he had reigned fifty-six winters. There is still, however, a discrepancy, for if Aethelberht ascended the throne in 565, (according to all the manuscripts now known,) and died in 616, his reign could only have been fifty-one years. Wheloc and others, however, assign the year 560, but upon what authority it has not been ascertained.

[8] *Chronica.*] *E.*; chronicam, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[9] *Juxta Bedam.*] Hist. Ecc. Gen. Angl. lib. II. c. 5, § 100, 101.

[10] *Exegit.*] *A.D.E.L.M.*; transegit, *S. C.*

[11] *Nam.*] *D. E. M.*; *A. S. C. L.* omit 'nam.'

terminos tutaretur. Postmodum cum adultiori ætati consultior etiam militiæ accessisset peritia, [1]omnes nationes Anglorum præter Northanimbros continuis victoriis domitas sub jugum traxit; et, ut exterorum quoque familiaritatem asccisceret, regis Francorum affinitatem [2]filiæ ejus [3]nuptiis sibi conciliavit. Tum vero Francorum contubernio gens [4]eatenus barbara ad unas consuetudines confœderata, silvestres animos indies exuere, et ad leviores mores declinare. His addebatur Letardi episcopi, qui cum regina venerat, cælebs admodum vita, qua regem ad Christi Domini cognitionem etiam tacens invitabat: quo factum est, ut postea beato [5]Augustino prædicanti [6]regius animus jam emollitus facile cederet, et primus de numero patrum suorum sacris sacrilegis renunciaret; ut quos regni [7]premebat potentia, fidei quoque obumbraret gloria: hæc est profecto clara nobilitas, hæc superba virtus, honestate vincere quos honore vincas. Quin etiam curam extendens in posteros, [8]leges patrio sermone tulit, quibus bonis præmia decerneret, improbis per remedia severiora occurreret, nihil super aliquo negotio in futurum relinquens ambiguum.

His conversion to Christianity, A.D. 597.

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[1] *Omnes.*] *E.*; *A. S. C. D. L. M.* read 'brevi' before 'omnes.'

[2] *Filiæ ejus.*] Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, by his queen Ingoberga, and niece of Clothaire I.

[3] *Nuptiis*] *S.* reads 'Bertæ' after 'nuptiis;' *A. C. D. E. L. M.* omit 'Bertæ.'

[4] *Eatenus.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; *A. L.* omit 'eatenus.'

[5] *Augustino.*] Augustine, with his companions, was dispatched from Rome in the year 596: he arrived at the isle of Thanet in 597. For a full account of this fact, see Beda, Hist. Ecc. Gen. Angl. lib. I. c. 25, § 54.

[6] *Regius.*] *D. E. L. M.*; regis, *S.*

[7] *Premebat.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; præeminebat, *S.*

[8] *Leges.*] No earlier copy of the Laws of Aethelberht than the Textus Roffensis now exists: that volume was compiled by Ernulfus, bishop of Rochester, between the years 1115 and 1124.

Eădbald, A.D. 616.

§ 10. Excessit anno [1]post [2]acceptam fidem primo et vicesimo, Edbaldo filio regni tradens insignia. Ille, mox ubi paterni metus abrupit fræna, exsufflata Christianitate, [3]novercæ quoque pudorem expugnavit: sed, ne omnino in præceps ferretur, divinæ miserationis austeritas obicem opposuit. Confestim enim regulis quos pater sub jugum miserat rebellantibus, regni mutilatus dispendio, et per horas crebro afflatus dæmonio, contumacis perfidiæ [4]tormenta pendebat. Quibus offensus successor Augustini [5]Laurentius, dum post præmissos comites provincia cedere meditaretur, [6]Dei animatus verbere sententiam revocavit. Qua de re conventus rex, dum fidem dictorum pontificis plagæ facerent, non aspernanter ut aiunt inflexus, et Christianismi gratiam hausit, et incestis nuptiis valedixit. Verum ut in punienda

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[1] *Post acceptam fidem primo et vicesimo.*] Aethelberht died on the 24th Feb. A.D. 616: the twenty-one years must therefore be reckoned from the mission of Augustine, and not from Aethelberht's conversion. Compare Beda's statements, § 100, 101, which are at variance.

[2] *Acceptam fidem.*] *A.C.D.E.L. M.*; receptam Christi fidem, *S.*

[3] *Novercæ.*] After the death of Bertha, Aethelberht married another French princess; but her name is not mentioned by historians, probably on account of her incest with Eădbald. See Beda, lib. II. c. 5, § 102, and Saxon Chron. A.D. 616.

[4] *Tormenta.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; pœnas, *S. C.*

[5] *Laurentius.*] Respecting the exact date of the death of Augustine, and the appointment of his successor, great uncertainty prevails; but if the first charter printed in the Cod. Dip. Ævi Angl. Sax. can be relied upon as authentic, it would establish the fact that Laurentius was in office before the 28th of April 604. The genuineness of this charter, however, is open to question. Mr. Kemble, whose decision is entitled to authority, does not doubt its authenticity. Dr. Smith, the learned editor of Beda, is of opinion that Augustine died in the year 605; but Wharton prefers the year 604. See Angl. Sacr. I. 89; II. 70.

[6] *Dei animatus verbere sententiam revocavit.*] Mellitus and Justus, being disgusted at the opposition and insults offered to Christianity, left Britain, and returned to the Continent; and Laurentius entertained the like resolution of departure. St. Peter is said to have appeared to him in a vision, and, reproaching him for his cowardice, scourged him for his unworthy resolution to forsake his flock. See Beda, lib. II. c. 6, § 104.

perfidia terribilis exempli nota posteris inureretur, avitis finibus ægre licet retentis, nunquam ad paternum fastigium potuit aspirare. Cæterum, tota vita integer in fide, nihil quod famam læderet commisit: monasterium quoque [1]extra muros Cantuariæ, quod pater fundaverat, ingentibus prædiis et amplissimis donariis illustravit: quorum laudes et merita omnes Angli suspicere et prædicare debebunt, quod Christianam fidem leni credulitate et credula lenitate Angliæ invalescere permiserint. Quis enim non jocunde speculetur quantum æquitati conveniat, quantum dulcedini concinat responsum illud regis Ethelbirhti, quod eum primæ prædicationi Augustini [2]Beda retulisse narrat?—non posse se novæ sectæ tam cito animum adhibere, relictis cultibus quos semper exercuerit cum tota Anglorum gente; veruntamen nulla illos molestia exacerbandos, quin [3]potius prædicationis permissu et amplo victu juvandos, quod tam longam a natali solo peregrinationem susceperint ut Anglis quæ optima putabant indulgenti benignitate communicarent. Nec infra promissionem factum fuit [4]remissius, donec sensim explorata fidei veritate et ipse cum subjectis numero fidelium sociatus est. Quid iste? nonne primo tempore magis carnis illecebra quam animi obstinatione devians, magnam tamen vitæ pontificum exhibebat venerationem, quorum negligebat fidem? denique, ut dixi, ob unius facile conversus injuriam, magno momento Christianitatis [5]augmentis fuit. Ambo igitur [6]laudabiles, ambo profusiora præconia emeriti, si-

[1] *Extra muros Cantuariæ.*] St. Augustine's.

[2] *Beda.*] Beda, lib. I. c. 25, § 55.

[3] *Potius.*] *D.E.L.M.*; etiam, *C.*

[4] *Remissius.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; *S. C.* omit 'remissius.'

[5] *Augmentis.*] *S. D. E. L. M.*; augmentum, *A. C.*

[6] *Laudabiles.*] *A.* reads 'viri' after 'laudabiles;' *S. C. D. E. L. M.* omit 'viri.'

quidem bonum quod ille magnanimiter inchoaverit, iste benigne confoverit.

Earconberht, A.D. 640.

§ 11. [1]Cui post [2]viginti quatuor regni annos defuncto successit filius Ercombirchtus [3]ex Emma filia regis Francorum susceptus, et eodem [4]quidem annorum numero, sed meliori auspicio principatu functus, religione in Deum, pietate in patriam, [5]juxta insignis. Cum enim avus et pater, citra destructionem idolorum, fidem nostram coluissent, hic parum et inferius [6]devotione regia arbitratus, si non destrueret propensiore consilio quod illi tacito [7]damnarant judicio, omnia deorum sacella complanavit ad solum, ut nullum sacrilegii ad posteros manaret vestigium; præclare; poterat enim vulgus fanaticæ superstitionis admoneri, quamdiu loca pulvinarium suorum non desineret intueri: atque ut gentem suam, ventri tantum indulgentem, parcitati gulæ doceret insuescere, [8]præcepit per omne regnum observari quadraginta dierum solenne jejunium. Magnam prorsus tunc temporis rex rem aggressus, quem nec deliciarum luxus enervare, nec regni solicitudo a Dei cultu potuit avocare. Per hæc Dei favore tutus, rebusque domi et foris ex sententia cedentibus, tranquillissime consenuit. Cujus filia Ercongota, tanto soboles non indigna

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[1] *Cui . . . defuncto.*] Eâdbald died on Thursday, 20th Jan. 640.

[2] *Viginti quatuor.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; viginti quinque, *C.*

[3] *Ex Emma . . . Francorum.*] After the death or divorce of his first wife, Eâdbald married Emma, the daughter of Theodbert, king of Austria. (Pagi, A.D. 640.) Earconberht was the issue of this marriage. Ermenfrid was a son by the first marriage. See note [3], p. 22.

[4] *Quidem.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; *C.* omits 'quidem.'

[5] *Juxta insignis.*] *S. C. E. L.*; vita insignis, *A. D. M.*

[6] *Devotione.*] *A.S.D.E.L.M.*; dignatione, *C.*

[7] *Damnarant.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; damnarent, *A. S.*

[8] *Præcepit . . . jejunium.*] See Beda, lib. III. cap. 8, § 172; Sax. Chron. an. 640; Flor. Wigorn. an. 640.

parente, æmulisque virtutum lineamentis patri respondens, [1] Cala, monasterium apud Gallias, [2] sanctitudinis suæ luce vestivit.

§ 12. At vero filius Egbertus, per novem annos patrio throno retento, nihil memorabile fecit tam brevis imperii compendio, nisi quis [3] adventum Theodori archiepiscopi et Adriani abbatis temporum illius [4] imputet gloriæ: doctorum virorum, et qui omnem literaturam imis medullis combiberant; quod nisi esset usquequaque detritum, libenter pergerem referre quantum lucis tunc per eos orbi Britannico infulserit, quomodo hinc Græci, hinc Latini palæstras literarum [5] studiis in unum contulerint, et insulam, tyrannorum quondam nutriculam, familiare philosophiæ domicilium [6] effecerint. Ecgberht, A.D. 664.

§ 13. Successit [7] Egberto frater Lotharius, alite mala regnum ingressus, quippe per [8] undecim an- Hlôðheri, A.D. 673.

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[1] *Cala, monasterium apud Gallias.*] Chelle, about four miles from Paris, a nunnery founded by Queen Bathildis, wife of Clodoveus the Second. Beda, (lib. III. cap. 8, § 172,) however, states that Ercongota was a nun 'in loco qui dicitur In Brige,' (Faremoustier en Brie,) a celebrated Benedictine nunnery.

[2] *Sanctitudinis.*] *A. C. S. E. L.*; sanctitatis, *D. M.*

[3] *Adventum Theodori archiepiscopi et Adriani abbatis.*] Theodore of Tarsus, in Cilicia, ordained archbishop of Canterbury at Rome, 26th March, A.D. 668, and enthroned at Canterbury, 27th May, A.D. 669. He was an admirable scholar, and well versed in Grecian and Roman literature, arithmetic, and astronomy. He set out for England 27th May 668, accompanied by Adrian, at the express command of Pope Vitellianus, who apprehended that Theodore might incline to the doctrine of the Greek church, in which he was educated. Adrian was appointed abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

[4] *Imputet.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; supputet, *D. M.*

[5] *Studiis.*] *E.*; *A. S. C. D. L. M.* read 'certantibus' before 'studiis.'

[6] *Effecerint.*] After 'effecerint,' *S. D. M.* read 'Sed et hoc, et quicquid boni potest diebus Egberti ascribi, attenuat facinus quo Elbertum et Egelbrictum, filios patrui, aut interemit aut interimi æquanimiter passus fuit.' *C.* omits 'æquanimiter.' *A. E. L.* omit the whole passage.

[7] *Egberto.*] Ecgberht died in July, A.D. 673.

[8] *Undecim.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; novem, *E.*—Beda assigns eleven years and seven months to the reign of Hlôðheri.

nos, infestante Edrico filio Egberti, frequenter et varia sorte civilibus bellis conflictatus, novissi-
his death, A.D. 685.
meque jaculo corpus trajectus, [1]ipso vulnere inter medendum vitam effudit. Sunt qui non [2]tacent fratres ambos cita morte merito crudelitatis absumptos; [3]quod Egbertus filios patrui [4]innocentes occiderit; Lotharius martyres propalatos irriserit: quamvis prior et factum ingemuerit, et matri fratruelium partem insulæ Tanatos ad ædificandum monasterium concesserit.

Death of Edric, A.D. 686.

§ 14. Nec Edricus successu tyrannidis longum gloriatus est; sed citra biennium, regno et vita spoliatus, patriam lacerandam hostibus exposuit. Continuo enim quidam Kedwalla cum fratre Mollone, alias sane bonus et efficax, digladiabile odium in Cantuaritas spirans, quantis potuit conatibus provinciam invasit olim diuturna pace feriatam, sed tunc intestino bello dissidentem, impune sibi cessuram arbitratus: sed non ita ut sperabat imparatos, aut animi vacuos, provinciales offendit; siquidem post multa incommoda vicatim et oppidatim accepta, tandem animati ad manus veniunt; congressuque superiores Kedwallam in terga vertunt, [5]fratreque in tugurium quoddam compulso, domunculam ipsam succendunt.
Death of Mull, A.D. 687.
Ita Mollo, dum erumpendi in hostem deesset audacia, et totis circa tectum habenis regnarent incendia, [6]inter flammas [7]halitum ruc-

[1] *Ipso vulnere . . . vitam effudit.*] Hlôðheri died of his wounds, 6th Feb. A.D. 685.

[2] *Tacent.*] *D. E.*; taceant, *A. S. C. L. M.*

[3] *Quod Egbertus filios patrui innocentes occiderit.*] Elbert and Aegilberht were sons of Ermenfrid, half-brother of Ecgberht. Malmesbury afterwards gives a fuller account of their murder.

[4] *Innocentes.*] *A. E. L.*; after 'innocentes,' read 'ut dixi,' *S. C. D. M.*

[5] *Fratreque.*] *A.C.D.E.L.M.*; fratreque Mollone, *S.*

[6] *Inter flammas.*] Caedwalla and his brother Mull laid waste Kent in the year 686, and in the following year Mull was burnt, with twelve others. Sax. Chron. A.D. 686, 687.

[7] *Halitum.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; animam, *C.*

tavit. Non tamen Kedwalla destitit, aut a provincia pedem retulit, quin dolorem suum crebris accolarum dispendiis sarciret, rei quoque ultionem in successorem Inam transfunderet, sicut [1]suo loco dicetur.

§ 15. [2]In tam desperatis rebus Cantiæ secennio circiter a regia successione claudicatum: [3]septimo demum anno Wihtredus filius Egberti, cum apud suos invidiam pressisset industria, et apud hostes pacem locasset pecunia, magna spe civium [4]allectus in regem, voti compotes fecit. Domi enim civilis, et bello invictus, Christianam religionem sanctissime coluit, potestatem amplissime [5]porrexit, et, ut nihil felicitati deesset, post [6]triginta et tres annos longævus, quod beatissimum mortales putant, superstitibus eisdemque hæredibus liberis tribus, fato functus est. [7]Quorum Edber-

Wihtraed, A.D. 690.

his death, A.D. 725.

Eâdberht.

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[1] *Suo loco dicetur.*] See post, § 35.

[2] *In tam.*] *A. S. E. L.*; Interea, *C. D. M.*

[3] *Septimo.*] If the period of seven years, here spoken of, be computed from the death of Hlôðheri, the succession of Wihtraed ought to be placed in the year 692, which is at variance with the best authorities; and, if the usurpation of Edric be also included in the calculation, the difference will be still greater. It seems, therefore, that Malmesbury has assigned too long a term for the interregnum in Kent, as Wihtraed's accession in the year 690 is undoubtedly fixed.

[4] *Allectus in regem.*] Wihtraed began his reign at the end of the year 690. It appears by the Saxon Chronicle that at this time, A.D. 692, there were two kings in Kent, Wihtraed and Suaebhard. See also Florence of Worcester, An. 691, and Beda, § 375.

[5] *Porrexit.*] After 'porrexit,' *A.* reads 'Ipse est qui monasterium sancti Martini apud Doferam fecit;' *D. M.* omit 'apud Doferam;' *S. C. E. L.* omit the whole passage. In Florence of Worcester's genealogy of the kings of Kent, these words occur: 'Wichtredus in regnum succedens ecclesiam sancti Martini in Dovera construxit.'

[6] *Triginta et tres annos.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; triginta, *C.*—The Saxon Chronicle makes Wihtraed reign thirty-four years. Beda (lib. v. cap. 23) correctly assigns thirty-four years and a half to his reign. He died on the 23rd April, A.D. 725. (Sax. Chron.)

[7] *Quorum Edbertus viginti et tribus, Edelbertus undecim.*] Malmesbury's meaning respecting the sons of Wihtraed is rather obscure. He probably intends that Aethelberht reigned eleven years after the death of Eâdberht, (with whom he had previously conjointly reigned

Aethelberht. Alric. tus [1] viginti et tribus, Edelbertus undecim, [2] Alricus triginta et quatuor annis, paterna [3] terentes instituta, haud [4] decolore exitu regnum continuavere, A.D. 754. nisi quod Edelbertus fortuito urbis incendio, et A.D. 774. Alricus infausto adversus Mercios prælio, [5] gloriam temporum suorum non parum obnubilavere. Ita si quid accidit probri non tacetur, si quid prosperi parum in chronicis notatur, sive quod consulto factum est, sive quod naturæ vitio comparatum est: quod cum sit bonorum brevis gratia, æternum quæ nocuere dolent. Post illos nobile germen regum exaruit, generosus sanguis effriguit; tunc impudentissimus quisque, cui vel lingua divitias, vel factio terrorem comparaverat, ad tyrannidem anhelare, tunc regio insigni indigni abuti. Eadbyrht Præn, A.D. 794. Quorum [6] Edelbertus idemque Pren cum biennio Cantuaritis imperitaret, in Mercios majora viribus [7] conatus, et ab eisdem captus, vinculis manus, corpus captivitati præbuit: nec multo post ab hostibus laxatus, sed a suis non receptus, dubium quo fine defecit. Deinde ejus-

twenty-three years,) and that Alric reigned thirty-four years after the death of Aethelberht. This would be quite consistent with other authorities, which state that upon the death of Wihtraed his sons Eådberht and Aethelberht jointly succeeded. The former died in the year 748, and the latter reigned alone until the year 761: he was succeeded by Alric, who died in the year 794.

[1] *Viginti et tribus.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; triginta et tribus, *D. M.*

[2] *Alricus.*] Alric died in the year 794, and with him ended the race of Hengest. He is generally considered the last of the Kentish kings.

[3] *Terentes.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; tenentes, *S.* apparently more correct.

[4] *Decolore.*] *S.*; *A. C. D. E. L. M.* read 'decoloro.'

[5] *Gloriam temporum suorum.*] *A.S.D.E.L.M.*; claritatem fortunæ, *C.*

[6] *Edelbertus idemque Pren.*] Eadbyrht, surnamed Præn, obtained the kingdom of Kent, A.D. 794: he was taken prisoner, in 796, by the Mercians, who put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. Malmesbury elsewhere states that Coenuulf, moved with compassion, released him from captivity at the altar of Winchelcombe, and that Cuthred, whom Offa had made king of Kent, was present to applaud this act of royal clemency.

[7] *Conatus.*] *A. D. F. L. M.*; ausus, *S. C.*

dem calamitatis et factionis hæres Cuthredus octo annis solo scilicet nomine regnavit. Hinc regiæ dignitatis abortivum Baldredus postquam Cantiam octodecim annis [1]obsedit, ab Egbirhto rege West-Saxonum prælio pulsus in exilium concessit. Ita regnum Cantiæ, quod ab anno incarnationis Domini quadringentesimo quadragesimo [2]quarto steterat, annis trecentis [3]septuaginta et quinque alterius potestati accessit. Sed quia primi regni, quod de Anglis excrevit, prosapiam paucis persecuti, quasi [4]scintillam de antiquitatis favilla excussimus, nunc regnum West-Saxonum stilus ventilabit: quod a primo proximum, longo tamen intervallo inchoavit, ipsum est, quod multo situ, marcescentibus cæteris, invicto usque ad adventum Normannorum vigore floruit, et alia, ut ita dicam, strangulata, faucibus avidis absorbuit: hoc ergo si lineatim ad Egbirhtum provexero, de reliquis duobus, nauseam longitudinis evitans, aliqua subtexam, quæ cum in primo libro debitum finem invenerint, secundus solos West-Saxones intuebitur.

Cuthred, A.D. 796.

Baldred, A.D. 805.

Fall of the kingdom of Kent, A.D. 824.

DE REGNO WEST-SAXONUM.

§ 16. [5]Regnum West-Saxonum, quo [6]neque magnificentius [6]neque diuturnius ullum Britannia vidit,

Cerdic

[1] *Obsedit.*] *D. E. L. M.*; obsederit, *A.*; obsederat potius quam rexerat, *S.*; obsedit potius quam rexit, *C.*

[2] *Quarto.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; sexto, *A.*; nono, *S.* correctly.

[3] *Septuaginta.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; sexaginta, *D. M.*

[4] *Scintillam de antiquitatis favilla excussimus.*] *A. S. D. L. M.*; excussimus vel elicuimus, *E.*; antiquitatis scintillam elicuimus, *C.*

[5] *Regnum West-Saxonum.*] The kings of this kingdom called themselves originally kings of the Gewissas, their family tribe; Gewis was the ancestor of Cerdic in the third degree: they afterwards called themselves kings of the West-Saxons, and subsequently kings of the West-Saxons and Men of Kent. For an account of the extent of their kingdom, see post, lib. I. and Florence of Worcester, Append. ad Chronicon.

[6] *Neque.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; nec, *C.*

a quodam Cerdicio primum ebulliens, mox in magnum fastigium evasit: qui gente Germanus, amplis majoribus, quippe a Wodenio decimus, cum domesticis conflictationibus ingentes spiritus aluisset, statuit patria discedere, et armis famam dilatare. Id, animo communicato [1]cum filio Cenrico, meditari ausus, consentiente adolescente, qui proximis gloriæ passibus patrem urgeret, [2]in Britanniam cum quinque ceolis copias trajecit. Actum anno Dominicæ incarnationis quadringentesimo nonagesimo quinto, post mortem Hengesti octavo. [3]Ipsoque die a Britonibus bello exceptus, vir veteris militiæ non difficulter arietantem multitudinem contudit et fugere compulit: quo successu et sibi [4]profundam in reliquum securitatem, et provincialibus quietem, peperit; nam, nunquam post illum diem lacescendum arbitrati, in ejus jura volentes concessere. Non tamen ille ignavo indulgens otio feriabatur, quin potius crebras circumquaque victorias extendens anno post adventum suum vicesimo quarto in occidentali parte insulæ, quam illi [5]West-Sexam vocant, monarchiam adeptus est: [6]qua quindecim annis functus, fatum complevit, regno toto præter insulam Wehtam ad filium devoluto. Ea enim, indultu regiæ munificentiæ, potestati [7]Wihtgari [8]nepotis sui accessit.

arrives in Britain, A.D. 495;

obtains the supremacy of Wessex, A.D. 519.

Cynric, A.D. 534.

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[1] *Cum.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *S.*

[2] *In Britanniam . . . trajecit.*] Cerdic and Cynric landed at a place called Cerdices-ora. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 495.)

[3] *Ipsoque die a.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; Ipso quoque die, *A.*

[4] *Profundam.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *C.*

[5] *West-Sexam.*] The foundation of the kingdom of the West-Saxons is also assigned to the year 519 by the Saxon Chronicle.

[6] *Qua quindecim.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; qua sexdecim, *S.*; qui sexdecim, *C.*

[7] *Wihtgari.*] Cerdic and Cynric took the isle of Wight in the year 530, and gave it to their two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar. (Sax. Chron.)

[8] *Nepotis sui.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *C.*

Is, tum sanguinis propinquitate, tum bellandi artibus, avunculo juxta [1]carus, celebrem in eadem insula primo principatum, post etiam [2]sepulturam accepit. Porro Cenricus, patre non inferior virtute, regnum nonnihil ampliatum, post annos [3]viginti sex, filio Ceaulino contulit. Death of Cynric, A.D. 560.

DE CEAULINO.

§ 17. Cujus spectatissimum in præliis robur annales ad invidiam efferunt, quippe qui fuerit Anglis stupori, Britonibus odio, utrisque exitio. Horum exempla pro compendio subjiciam. Ethelbirthum Cantuaritarum regem, alias laudabilem, sed tunc pro antiquitate familiæ primas sibi partes vendicantem, ac per hoc avidius alienos fines incursantem, probe aggressus fusis auxiliis ad sua fugavit. Britannos, qui temporibus patris et avi vel prætento deditionis umbone, vel claustrorum muralium objectu, Gloecestriæ et Cirecestræ et Bathoniæ exitium effugerant, [6]infesta [7]prosecutus animositate, urbibus exuit, et in confragosa saltuosaque loca hodieque detrusit. Inter hæc tamen, quia fatalis alea incertis jactibus in hujus vitæ tabula mortales eludit, tantos bellorum [8]eventus obfuscavit luctus domesticus: denique [9]Cuda fratre immatura morte intercepto, ejusdemque nominis filio ante se in pugna extincto, ambobus prædicabilis spei juvenibus, mul- Ceawlin, A.D. 560. A.D. 568.[4] A.D. 577.[5] Death of Cutha, A.D. 584.

[1] *Carus.*] *D. E. L. M.*; carnis, *A.*; after 'carus,' 'ejus enim ex sorore nepos erat,' *S. C.*

[2] *Sepulturam.*] Wihtgar died in the year 544, and was buried at Carisbrook. (Sax. Chron.)

[3] *Viginti sex.*] *S. C. E.*; viginti quatuor, *A. D. L. M.*

[4] 568.] Ceawlin repulsed Aethelberht, king of Kent, in a battle at Wimbledon, A.D. 568.

[5] 577.] See Sax. Chron. A.D. 577.

[6] *Infesta.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; avide, *C.*

[7] *Prosecutus.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; persecutus, *A. L.*

[8] *Eventus.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; successus, *S. C.*

[9] *Cuda.*] Cutha and his son were slain at the battle fought at Fretherne, in Gloucestershire, A.D. 584. (Sax. Chron.)

tum felicitati suæ decessisse [1]non semel suspiravit. Postremo ipse, diebus ultimis regno extorris, miserandum sui spectaculum hostibus exhibuit. Quia enim in odium sui quasi classicum utrobique cecinerat, conspirantibus tam Anglis quam Britonibus apud [2]Wodnesdic cæso exercitu anno [3]tricesimo primo, regno nudatus, in exilium concessit, et continuo decessit. Tunc fluitantes regni habenas direxerunt nepotes ejus, filii Cudæ; [4]Celricus annis [5]quinque, [6]Ceolwulfus [7]annis quatuordecim. Quorum tempore inferior, sed virtute præstantior, omnem ætatem in bellis detrivit, quippe qui nulli unquam ignaviæ locum dederit, quin sua et tutaretur et protenderet.

Ceawlin expelled from his kingdom, A.D. 591.

His death, A.D. 593.

Ceol, A.D. 591. Ceoluulf, A.D. 597.

Cynegils, Cuichelm, A.D. 611.

§ 18. [8]Post illum filii Celrici, Cinegislus et Quicelmus, regni infulas æqua lance induerunt; ambo strenui, ambo mutuis pietatis inter se certantes officiis, ut merito propter insolitam regibus concordiam fuerint præsentibus miraculo, futuris exemplo. Denique bella quamplurima, nescias majore virtute an moderatione, gesserunt vel contra Britannos, vel contra Pendam regem Merciorum, hominem, ut suo loco dicetur, ad

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[1] *Non semel.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; plusquam semel, *C.*

[2] *Wodnesdic.*] The locality of this battle is uncertain; by some supposed to be at Wandsdike in Wiltshire, by others at Wemborrow: according to Florence of Worcester, at Wodnesbeorh, 'id est, Mons Wodeni.' The Saxon Chronicle states that there was a great slaughter at Woddesbeorge in the year 591, and Ceawlin was driven from his kingdom. He died in the year 593.

[3] *Tricesimo primo.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; vicesimo primo, *C.*

[4] *Celricus.*] He is called in the Saxon Chronicle, and in Florence of Worcester, Ceol or Ceolus. He succeeded to the kingdom on the expulsion of his uncle Ceawlin, A.D. 591, and reigned five years.

[5] *Quinque.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; sex, *S. C.*

[6] *Ceolwulfus.*] Ceoluulf commenced his reign A.D. 597, and died in 611, after a reign of fourteen years.

[7] *Annis.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *A.*

[8] *Post illum filii Celrici, Cinegislus et Quicelmus.*] Compare Malmesbury's statement with Florence of Worcester and the Saxon Chronicle.

[1]furta belli peridoneum: qui proprios egressus terminos, dum Cirecestram suis partibus applicare conatur, impetum concordium regum non ferens, cum paucis profugit. Quicelmum sane non mediocris culpa respergit, quod [2]Edwinum Northanimbrorum regem, probatæ prudentiæ virum, subornato sicario insidiis appetiverit. Sed si consideretur illa gentilis sententia, '[3]dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat,' facile excusabitur nihil præter solitum fecisse, quod vellicatorem potentiæ quoquo modo voluerit de medio subtrahere. Nam et antea de regno West-Saxonum plurima decerpserat, et tunc accepta irritatus injuria, [4]quoniam recruduerant odia, multa provincialibus inflixit dispendia. Evaserunt tamen reges, quibus non multo [5]post per Birinum [6]episcopum cœlestis influxit doctrina, regni anno vicesimo quinto, post adventum beati [7]Augustini quadragesimo. [8]Inflexus ilico Cinegislus, [9]et mollito [10]regali supercilio, sacerdoti se [11]in baptismo libens substravit. Recalcitravit aliquantisper

Battle of Cirencester, A.D. 628.

A.D. 626.

Cynegils baptized, A.D. 635.

[1] *Furta.*] *S. D. E. L. M.*; furti, *C.*; furtiva, *A.*

[2] *Edwinum.*] For an account of Cuichelm's design to assassinate Eådwine, whose life was saved by the fidelity of Lilla, his minister, see Beda, lib. II. cap. 9, § 113, edit. Eng. Hist. Soc. and Sax. Chron. A.D. 626.

[3] *'Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat.'*] Virg. Æn. II. 389.

[4] *Quoniam.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; quia, *A.*

[5] *Post per Birinum.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; post per beatum Birinum, *S.*; post beatum Birinum, *C.*—Birinus, an Italian by birth, was sent to England by Pope Honorius, and made bishop of Dorchester: he died on the 3rd of December, A. D. 648; but, according to the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 650.

[6] *Episcopum cœlestis influxit doctrina.*] *A.C. D. E. L.M.*; episcopum sanctum cœlestis infulsit doctrina, *S.*

[7] *Augustini.*] *A.C. D. E.L.M.*; Augustini Anglorum apostoli, *S.*

[8] *Inflexus ilico.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; inflexus ergo ilico, *C.*

[9] *Et.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[10] *Regali.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; regni, *E.*

[11] *In baptismo.*] Cynegils was baptized at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, by Bishop Birinus in the year 635; and Osuuald, king of Northumbria, was the sponsor. (See Beda, lib. III. c. 7, § 168, edit. Eng. Hist. Soc.; and Saxon Chron. A.D. 635.)

Cuichelm, his baptism and death, A.D. 636.

[1]Quicelmus, donec valetudine corporis admonitus ne salutem animæ negligeret, devotionem consortis et ipse æmulatus eodem anno carne solutus est. At vero Cinegislus secennio post, longæ quietis gratia functus, anno regni [2]tricesimo primo vitam clausit.

Death of Cynegils, A.D. 643.

Cynewealh, A.D. 643.

§ 19. [3]Successit hæreditati filius ejus Kenewalkius, primo regni auspicio pessimis, medio et ultimo tempore optimis principibus comparandus. Potestate siquidem initiatus adolescens, qui regio luxu insolescens facta paterna in secundis [4]poneret, sine retractione Christianismum et legitimum matrimonium abjuravit: [5]sed a Penda rege Merciorum, cujus sorori repudium dederat, bello impetitus et victus, ad regem Orientalium Anglorum confugit; ubi et propria calamitate et hospitis sedulitate fidem persuasus, triennio post resumptis viribus regnoque [6]accepto, jocundum miraculum suæ [7]mutationis civibus exhibuit: in tantum fortis, ut qui antea nec suos fines impune defensitarat, [8]nunc usquequaque imperium prorogaret. Britannos antiquæ libertatis conscientiam frementes, et ob hoc crebram rebellionem meditantes, bis omnino protrivit; [9]primum in loco qui dicitur [10]Wirtgernesburg; secundo juxta montem [11]qui dicitur Pene: et in Wulferium

His defeat and flight, A.D. 645.

His conversion, A.D. 646.

A.D. 658.

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[1] *Quicelmus.*] Cuichelm was baptized A.D. 636, and died the same year. (Sax. Chron.)

[2] *Tricesimo.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; vicesimo, *C.*

[3] *Successit . . . Kenewalkius.*] Cynewealh succeeded his father A.D. 643. (Sax. Chron.)

[4] *Poneret.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; ponebat, *S. C.*

[5] *Sed a Penda.*] Cynewealh was driven out of his kingdom by Penda A.D. 645. (Sax.Chron.; see also Beda, lib. III. c. 7.)

[6] *Accepto.*] *E.*; recepto, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[7] *Mutationis.*] Cynewealh was baptized A.D. 646 by Felix, bp. of Dunwich.

[8] *Nunc usquequaque.*] *A. D. E. L.M.*; nec longius ante, *S.*; nunc longiuscule, *C.*

[9] *Primum in loco . . . Pene.*] *S. D. E. M.*; *C.* reads 'Pentie;' *A. L.* omit the whole passage.

[10] *Wirtgernesburg.*] The locality of this battle is not known. In the Saxon Chronicle, Cynewealh is said to have fought at Bradford, by the Avon, A.D. 652.

[11] *Qui dicitur Pene.*] Pen, in

Pendæ filium paternam ultus injuriam, plurima illum parte regni [1] truncavit. Religiosus adeo, ut primus antecessorum suorum [2] in Wintonia templum Deo per id [3] seculi pulcherrimum [4] construeret; quo loci posteritas in sede episcopali fundanda, etsi augustiori peritia, per [5] eadem tamen cucurrit vestigia. [6] Sed quia Kenewalchii tempora attigimus, et [7] Glastoniensis cœnobii se optulit locus, ejusdem ecclesiæ exortum et processum, quantum e strue monimentorum corradere potero, repetens ab origine pandam. Tradunt bonæ credulitatis annales, quod [8] Lucius rex Britannorum [9] ad Eleutherium, decimo tertio loco post beatum Petrum papam, [10] miserit, oratum ut Britanniæ tenebras luce Christianæ prædicationis il-

A.D. 661.

Cynewealh's piety.

Account of Glastonbury.

Somersetshire. The battle was fought A.D. 658. (Sax. Chron.)

[1] *Truncavit.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; mulctavit, *S. C.*

[2] *In Wintonia.*] St. Peter's, Winchester. It was called the Old Church to distinguish it from the New Minster, erected in the beginning of the tenth century. A.D. 659, the bishoprick of Dorchester was divided into two parts. Angilberht remained at Dorchester, and Wini was placed at Winchester; but in the following year he obtained the government of the whole province.

[3] *Seculi.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; temporis, *S. C.*

[4] *Construeret.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; construxerit, *A.*

[5] *Eadem.*] *A.S.D.E.L.*; ea, *C.*

[6] *Sed quia . . . revertar.*] The text from 'Sed quia' to 'ordine revertar,' § 29, occurs in *D. E. F. M.*; *A. S. G. H. L.* read 'Ita munificus, ut nihil;' *C. K.* read 'nec solum in ecclesiasticis verum et in secularibus ita munificus extitit, ut nihil,' omitting all the text from 'Sed quia' to 'revertar.'

[7] *Glastoniensis.*] Malmesbury wrote a History of the Church of Glastonbury, from which he has extracted this account. The work has been printed in Gale's collection, vol. iii. and by Hearne.

[8] *Lucius rex Britannorum.*] Much learning and ingenuity have been used by various authors to prove that a King Lucius once reigned in Britain, and that he was a convert to the Christian faith. No less than twenty-six writers have assigned as many dates for his conversion.

[9] *Ad Eleutherium.*] Eleutherius presided, according to Muratori, from the year 170 to the year 185.

[10] *Miserit.*] Elvanus and Meduinus are the names of the missionaries to Rome. The letter supposed to have been written upon the occasion by Lucius, and the cause of the mission, have been examined by Ussher (Brit. Eccl. Ant. pp. 24, 27). A copy of the letter is to be found in Bishop Godwin's work, p. 22, ed. Cant. 1743.

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lustraret. Mactus animi rex, magnæ prorsus laudis factum adorsus, ut fidem, quam tunc temporis pene omnes reges et populi persequerentur exhibitam, ipse ultro appeteret vix auditam. Venerunt ergo, Eleutherio mittente, prædicatores Britanniam, quorum in ævum durabit efficacia, [1]quamvis longe situs ætatis consumpserit nomina. Horum fuit opera vetusta in Glastonia sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia, sicut fidelis per succidua secula non tacuit antiquitas. Sunt et illæ non exiguæ fidei literæ in nonnullis locis repertæ ad hanc sententiam, 'Ecclesiam Glastoniæ non fecerunt aliorum hominum manus, sed ipsi discipuli Christi eam ædificaverunt.' Nec abhorret a vero; quia si Philippus apostolus Gallis prædicavit, [2]sicut Freculfus libro secundo, capitulo quarto, dicit, potest credi quod et trans oceanum sermonis semina jecit. Sed ne videar per [3]opinionum nænias lectorum expectationem fraudare, illis quæ discrepant in medio relictis, ad solidæ veritatis gesta enarranda succingar.

DE ECCLESIA GLASTONIÆ.

§ 20. Ecclesia de qua loquimur, quæ pro antiquitate sui celebriter ab Anglis Ealdechirche, id est, Vetusta Ecclesia, nuncupatur, primo virgea, nescio quid divinæ sanctitatis jam inde a principio redoluit, spiravitque in omnem patriam, quamvis

[1] *Quamvis longe situs ætatis consumpserit nomina.*] The names of the preachers sent over to Britain were Faganus and Duvianus: they are said to have baptized Lucius and many of his subjects.

[2] *Sicut Freculfus libro secundo, capitulo quarto, dicit.*] Freculfus, a monk of Fulde, and afterwards bishop of Lisieux: he lived in the ninth century, and wrote a chronicle, which he divided into two parts. The first, from the commencement of the world to the birth of Christ, contains seven books; the second part, from the birth of the Saviour to the coming of the Francs and Lombards, about the year 600, is in five books. Freculph. Chron. (tom. II. lib. 2, c. 4, p. 448,) 8vo. Heidelb. 1597.

[3] *Opinionum.*] *D. M.*; opinionem, *E.*

ex deformi grandis reverentia cultu. Hinc confluentium illuc populorum totis callibus undæ; hinc opulentorum deposita pompa conventus; hinc religiosorum et literatorum frequens perhendinatio. Nam, sicut a majoribus accepimus, [1]Gildas, neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiæ inter cæteras gentes habent, multum annorum ibi exegit loci sanctitudine captus. Est ergo ecclesia illa omnium quas quidem noverim in Anglia vetustissima, et inde cognomen sortita. In ea multorum sanctorum, quorum aliquos in processu notabimus, corporales servantur exuviæ, nec a beatorum cineribus vacat ullus fani ambitus. Adeo pavimentum lapide polito crustatum, adeo altaris latera, ipsumque altare, supra et infra reliquiis confertissimis aggeruntur. Ubi etiam notare licet in pavimento, vel per triangulum vel [2]per quadratum, lapides altrinsecus ex industria positos, et plumbo sigillatos, [3]sub quibus quiddam arcani sacri contineri si credo, injuriam religioni non facio. Antiquitas sanctorum et congeries excivit reverentiam loco, ut vix ibi quis noctu præsumat excubias agere, vix interdiu excrescens flegma projicere; illusoriæ [4]fœditatis conscius

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[1] *Gildas.*] Malmesbury, in his work 'De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ,' states that Gildas the historian *died* A.D. 512, and was buried at Glastonbury. This agrees with the statement made in the life of Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarvan; but it does not accord with that which may be collected from the historian's own statement ('De Excidio Britanniæ,' p. 33, § 26), viz. that he was born in the year of the siege of Caer Badon, an event which may now unquestionably be referred to the year 516. The discrepancy in these dates can only be reconciled by the supposition that there were two historians who wrote under the name of Gildas living about the same period. See further on this subject in Mr. Stevenson's Preface to Gildas, published by the English Historical Society.

[2] *Per.*] *E.*; omitted in *D. M.*

[3] *Sub quibus.*] *E.*; bustis quibus, *D. M.*

[4] *Fœditatis.*] *E.*; infœditatis, *D. M.*

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toto cohorreat corpore. Nullus intra contiguum cimiterium vel avem venatoriam advexit, vel quadrupedes induxit, qui sui vel rei possessæ indempnis abierit. [1] Ferro vel aqua examinandi, si orationem ibi deposuerunt, omnes quos præsens memoria complectitur, uno excepto, de salute sua tripudiarunt. Si quis e vicino aliquod ædificium locandum putasset, quod obumbratione sua lucem invideret ecclesiæ, patuit ruinæ. Satisque constat homines illius provinciæ nullum sanctius vel crebrius juramentum habere, quam per veterem ecclesiam; nihil magis vitantes, metu celeris vindictæ, quam pejerare. Labantem veritatem dictorum quæ proposuimus, in libro quem de antiquitate ejusdem ecclesiæ scripsimus, pro successu annorum, testimoniis fulciemus.

§ 21. Interim palam factum est merito dici cœleste in terris sanctuarium tot sanctorum reconditorium. Quantum vero is locus fuerit etiam primatibus patriæ venerabilis, ut ibi potissimum sub protectione Dei genitricis opperirentur diem resurrectionis, plura sunt documenta, quibus pro cautela fastidii abstineo. Illud quod pene clam omnibus est libenter prædicarem, si veritatem exculpere possem, quid illæ pyramides sibi velint, quæ, aliquantis pedibus ab ecclesia illa positæ, cimiterium monachorum prætexunt. Procerior sane, et propinquior ecclesiæ, habet quinque tabulatus, et altitudinem viginti octo pedum: hæc, præ nimia sui vetustate etsi ruinam minetur, habet tamen antiquitatis nonnulla spectacula, quæ plane possunt legi, licet non plene possint intelligi. In superiori enim tabulatu est imago pontificali schemate facta. In secundo

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[1] *Ferro vel aqua examinandi.*] This ordeal was a trial of great solemnity; the ritual may be seen in Spelman, *voce* Ordalium.

imago regiam prætendens pompam, et [1]literæ Her Sexi et Blisperh. In tertio nichilominus nomina Ƿencrest, Bantomp Ƿinepegn. In quarto Bate, [2]Ƿulfred, et Eanfled. In quinto, qui et inferior est, imago, et hæc scriptura, Logor, Ƿeaslieas, et Bregden, Spelpes, Hipingendes, Bearn. Altera vero pyramis habet viginti sex pedes, et quatuor tabulatus; in quibus hæc leguntur, [3]Centwine, [4]Hedde episcopus, et Bregored, et Beorward. [5]Quid hæc significent non temere diffinio, sed ex suspicione colligo eorum interius [6]in cavatis lapidibus contineri ossa, quorum exterius leguntur nomina. Certe [7]Logor is pro vero asseritur esse, de cujus nomine quondam Logperesberh dicebatur, qui nunc Mons Acutus vocatur; Bregden a quo Brentacnol, et Brentemeirs; Bregored et Beorward abbates ejusdem loci tempore Britonum, de quibus et cæteris qui occurrere poterunt, ex hinc liberiori campo exultabit oratio. Jam enim abbatum seriem, et quid cuique, et a quo rege monasterio delegatum sit, sermo explicare contendet. **Account of Glastonbury.**

§ 22. Ac primum de beato Patricio, a quo monimentorum nostrorum series elucescere cœpit, pauca libabimus. Saxonibus enim Britannorum infestantibus pacem, et Pelagianis eorum ex- **St. Patric.**

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[1] *Literæ.*] *E.*; hæ literæ, *D. M.*

[2] *Wulfred.*] *D. E. M.*; Wulfled, *F.*

[3] *Centwine.*] Centwini became king of Wessex A.D. 676, and died A.D. 685.

[4] *Hedde episcopus.*] Bishop of Winchester, succeeded in 676, and died 7th July, A.D. 705.

[5] *Quid hæc significent.*] Compare the names of the twelve monks said to have been established at Glastonbury on St. Patric's arrival there; viz. Wencreth, Bantcommeweng, Loyor, Wellias, Breden, Swelwes, Brumbam, Hyregaam, Brenwal, Adelwared, Hinloernius, Hin.

[6] *In cavatis lapidibus contineri ossa.*] Pyramids were occasionally used by the Saxons for interment. See Anglia Sacra; Osbern. de Vita S. Dunstani, part II. p. 110.

[7] *Logor.*] *E.*; Logpor, *D. F. M.*

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pugnantibus fidem, [1]sanctus Germanus Autisiodorensis contra utrosque suppetias tulit. Illos enim [2]Alleluiatico cantu fudit, istos evangelicis et apostolicis tonitribus fulminavit. Inde in patriam molitus reditum, Patricium ad familiare contubernium ascivit, eundemque post aliquot annos Hiberniensibus, jubente Celestino papa, prædicatorem misit. Unde scriptum est in Chronicis, 'Anno Dominicæ incarnationis quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto sanctus Patricius ordinatur [3]a Celestino papa in Hiberniam.' Item, 'Quadringentesimo tricesimo tertio anno Hibernia insula convertitur ad fidem Christi, prædicante sancto Patricio, cum multis mirabilibus.' Ille igitur munus injunctum gnaviter executus, et extremis diebus in patriam revertens, [4]super altare suum Cornubiam appulit, quod hodieque apud incolas magnæ venerationi est propter sanctitudinem et utilitatem, propter infirmorum salutem. [5]Ita Glastoniam veniens, ibique mo-

A.D. 425.

A.D. 433.

[1] *Sanctus Germanus Autisiodorensis.*] St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, came over with Loup, bishop of Troyes, upon a mission into England in 429; his second mission occurred in the year 448: he died at Ravenna in 449. About forty years after the death of Germain, Constans, a priest of Lyons, wrote his life, from which work Beda's narrative (Hist. Eccl. lib. I. cap. 17—21) of St. Germain's mission to Britain is taken almost verbally. Another life of St. Germain was composed in hexameter verse by Eric, a monk of Auxerre, who died about the year 880.

[2] *Alleluiatico cantu fudit.*] See Beda, lib. I. c. 20, § 45.

[3] *A Celestino papa in Hiberniam.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle, St. Patric was sent into Ireland, in the year 430, by Pope Celestine, to preach baptism.

[4] *Super altare suum Cornubiam appulit.*] St. Patric is reported to have floated from Ireland on his altar, and to have landed at Padstow, in Cornwall. Gough's Camden, I. 19.

[5] *Ita Glastoniam veniens.*] St. Patric is said to have come to Glastonbury in the year 449, and found there twelve monks, (successors to those who were first settled there by Joseph of Arimathea,) with whom he lived thirty-nine years: after his death and burial there, the church, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary alone, was jointly consecrated to her and to St. Patric. Archbishop Ussher has,

nachus et abbas factus, post aliquot annos naturæ cessit. Cujus assertionis omnem absolvit scrupulum visio cujusdam fratris, qui post obitum beati viri, jam nutante memoria utrum ibi monachus et abbas fuerit, cum de hoc frequens verteretur quæstio, tali confirmatus est oraculo. Resolutus enim in soporem, visus est audire quendam legentem, post multa ejus miracula, hæc verba, 'Hic igitur metropolitani pallii sanctitate decoratus est; postmodum vero hic monachus et abbas factus.' Adjecit etiam ut non integre credenti literis aureis quod dixerat scriptum ostenderet. Excessit ergo Patricius anno ætatis centesimo undecimo, incarnationis Domini quadringentesimo septuagesimo secundo, qui fuit annus ex quo Hiberniam missus est quadragesimus septimus. Requiescit in dextro latere altaris vetustæ ecclesiæ, in pyramide saxea, quam argento vestivit posterorum diligentia. Hinc Hiberniensibus mos inolitus ad exosculandas patroni reliquias locum frequentare.

Account of Glastonbury.

Death of St. Patric, A.D. 472.

§ 23. Unde et [1]sanctum Indractum et beatam Brigidam, Hiberniæ non obscuros incolas, huc olim commeasse celeberrimus sermo est. Brigida, (relictis quibusdam suis insignibus, monili videlicet pera et textrilibus armis, quæ adhuc pro sanctitatis memoria ostentantur, et morbis diversis medentur,) utrum domum reversa, an ibi acceperit pausam, incertum. Alterum juxta Glastoniam martyrizatum cum sociis septem,

St. Indract. St. Brigide.

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however, satisfactorily proved that this Patric neither lived nor was buried at Glastonbury. Malmesbury wrote a life of St. Patric, in two books, but no manuscript of it is now known. Leland (Collect. III. 273. Lond. 1770, 8vo.) has, however, given extracts from it.

[1] *Sanctum Indractum.*] Malmesbury wrote a life of St. Indract, 'Passio Sancti Indracti,' which has never been printed. A fine manuscript of this work is in the Bodleian library. It is abbreviated in John of Tynemouth, Nova Legenda Angliæ, which has been printed under the name of Capgrave's Legenda Nova Angliæ, fol. 188 *b*. London, 1516.

Account of Glastonbury. postmodum in veterem translatum ecclesiam, liquebit per narrationis consequentiam.

Benignus. § 24. Successit Patricio in abbatis regimine [1] Benignus, sed quot annis incertum. Quis autem fuerit, et quomodo patria lingua dictus, non infacete versus exprimunt, qui in epitaphio apud Ferramere scripti fuerunt.

Hoc patris in lapide Beonnæ sunt ossa locata,
Qui pater extiterat monachorum hic tempore prisco:
Hunc fore Patricii quondam fortasse ministrum
Fantur Hibernigenæ, et Beonnam de nomine dicunt.

Is quantæ apud Deum gratiæ fuerit et sit, et veteris quondam vitæ et novæ, in majorem ecclesiam translationis præconantur magnalia.

David, archbishop of Menevia. § 25. Jam vero quanti hunc locum penderit magnus ille [2] David Menevensium archiepiscopus celebrius est quam ut nostro indigeat illustrari relatu. Ille antiquitatem et sanctitudinem ecclesiæ divino comprobavit oraculo. Dedicationi enim ejus intendens, cum episcopis septem, quorum primas erat, ad locum venit: paratis autem omnibus quæ officii usus exposceret, nocte præcessura, ut putabat, festivitatem, somno indulsit. Omnes ergo sensus in quietem solutus, vidit Dominum Jesum assistere, causam adventus

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[1] *Benignus.*] Malmesbury also wrote a work entitled 'Miracula Sancti Benigni,' abbreviated in John of Tynemouth: see Capgrave's Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. 36. In his History of Glastonbury he states that Benignus succeeded St. Patric in the abbacy A. D. 460, and places the translation of his body to Glastonbury in the year 901. (? 1091.)

[2] *David Menevensium archiepiscopus.*] David, archbishop of Caerleon, removed the see to Menevia: his successors, in respect to his memory, styled themselves archbishops of St. David's. Godwin places his death in A.D. 642; but Malmesbury (Antiquit. Glast. Eccl.) assigns it to the year 546. According to the same authority, he was translated to Glastonbury four hundred and twenty years after his death, A.D. 966.

blande sciscitantem; quam cum ille incunctanter aperuisset, revocavit eum a sententia Dominus hoc dicto, 'Dedicatam a se dudum ecclesiam in honorem matris suæ, iteratione humana sacramentum temerari non oportere.' Simulque cum dicto, digito volam terebrare visus, subjecit, 'Hoc haberet signum repeti non debere quod ipse anticipasset facere; sed quia intentionis illius non tam fuisset audacia quam devotio, pœnam non prolongandam. Denique mane futuro cum, in missa, "Cum ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso," dicturus esset, plenum ei salutis vigorem refundendum.' His terroribus antistes somno excussus, sicut tunc ulcerosa sanie impalluit, sic postea veritati prophetiæ applausit. Sed ne nihil videretur egisse, aliam ecclesiam citato fecit et dedicavit opere. De hoc sane egregio et incomparabili viro, utrum ibi obierit, an in sede propria vitam finierit, incertum habeo. [1]Nam eum cum beato Patricio esse affirmant; et Walenses, orationum frequentatione, et multiplici sermone, id proculdubio astruunt et corroborant, illud in medium proferentes [2]Bernardum episcopum semel et secundo eum quæsisse, et multis reclamantibus non invenisse. Hæc de beato David dixisse sufficiat.

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§ 26. Multum temporis in medio, et venit [3]in Britanniam sanctus Augustinus, a beato Gregorio directus, anno incarnationis Domini quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto; cujus prædicationis commilitonem [5]Paulinum, ex archiepiscopo Ebo- A.D. 596.[4]

[1] *Nam eum.*] *E.*; nam viri religiosi recordatione digni eum, *D. M.*

[2] *Bernardum.*] In the 'Antiq. Glast. Eccl.' this occurs: 'Bernardum episcopum Rosinæ vallis.' Mr. Sharpe identifies him with Bernard, who was bishop of St. David's A.D. 1115.

[3] *In.*] *E.*; omitted in *D. M.*

[4] 596.] See p. 17, note [5].

[5] *Paulinum, ex archiepiscopo Eboracensi Rofensem episcopum.*] Paulinus, with others, was sent

Account of Glastonbury. racensi Rofensem episcopum, asserit majorum traditio, ecclesiæ contextum dudum, ut diximus, virgeæ, ligneo induisse tabulatu. Egit in mirum prædicabilis viri solertia, ut nihil decederet sanctitati, et plurimum accederet ornatui: et certe solet ecclesiarum cultus augustior quamlibet brutas mentes ad orandum accendere, quamlibet cervicositatem ad supplicandum inflectere.

A.D. 601. § 27. Anno [1]incarnationis sexcentesimo primo, id est, adventus beati Augustini quinto, [2]rex Donnoniæ terram quæ appellatur Ineswitrin ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit, quæ ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgrez abbatis, in quinque casatis. 'Ego Maworn episcopus hanc cartam conscripsi. Ego Worgrez [3]ejusdem loci abbas subscripsi.'

Glastonbury called Ineswitrin. § 28. Quis iste rex fuerit scedulæ vetustas negat scire. Verumtamen quod Britannus fuerit hinc non ambigitur, quod Glastoniam sua lingua Ineswitrin appellavit; sic enim eam Britannice vocari apud eos constat. Illud quoque animadvertere par est, quantæ antiquitatis sit ecclesia quæ tunc etiam dicebatur Vetusta. Fuerunt sane ejusdem abbates, Britannicam barbariem nominibus prætendentes, præter Worgrez, Lademund et Bregored. Prælationis eorum tempora sunt in obscuro, sed nomina illorum et dignitates in majori ecclesia, [4]prodente secus altare pictura, sunt in propatulo. Felices ergo ejus loci habitatores, quos ipsa sanctuarii reverentia ad morum

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to Augustine with letters and a pallium A.D. 601. He was ordained bishop of York 21st July 625. He fled from Northumberland, with Eâdwine's queen and sons, to Eâdbald, king of Kent, and was made bishop of Rochester in 633. He died on the 10th of October, A.D. 644.

[1] *Incarnationis.*] *E.*; incarnationis Domini, *D. M.*

[2] *Rex Donnoniæ.*] *E. F.*; rex Dero nomine, *D. M.*—King of Devonshire.

[3] *Ejusdem.*] *E.*; ejus, *D. M.*

[4] *Prodente.*] *E.*; protendente, *D. M.*

compositionem invitat. Nullum de his crediderim deperire cœlo, quos egressos corpore tot patronorum excipit laus vel excusatio. *Account of Glastonbury.*

§ 29. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo [1]septuagesimo, Ceonwalh, regni sui vicesimo nono, dedit Bertwaldo Glastoniensi abbati Ferramere, duas hidas, archiepiscopo Theodoro interveniente. Hic idem Bertwaldus, renitente rege, et diocesis episcopo, Glastoniæ renuntians, ad regimen monasterii [2]Raculf secessit. Quocirca Bertwaldus, et fama religionis nominatissimus, et generis nobilitate præcluus, (quippe fratris Ethelredi regis Merciorum filius,) et loci opportunitate, Cantuariæ proximus, [3]Theodoro archiepiscopo decedente, illius successit cathedræ. [4]Hæc de Glastoniensis antiquitate ecclesiæ me dixisse sufficiat. Nunc ad Kenewalchium ex ordine revertar, qui ita fuit munificus ut nihil patrimoniorum cognatis negaret, quippe qui [5]filio fratris pene tertiam regni partem magnanima liberalitate communicaret. Has animi [6]regales dotes stimulis [7]admonitionum animabant sanctissimi suæ

A.D. 670. *Berhtwald,* *made archbishop of Canterbury.* *Cynewealh's munificence.*

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[1] *Septuagesimo.*] *E.*; quadragesimo nono, *D.M.*—See a copy of Cynewealh's charter, dated A.D. 670, printed in Mr. Kemble's Codex Diplomat. Ævi Saxon. p. 10, No. VII. This charter is presumed not to be genuine.

[2] *Raculf.*] Reculver, in Kent. See Beda, lib. v. c. 8, § 375.

[3] *Theodoro archiepiscopo decedente, illius successit cathedræ.*] Archbishop Theodore died on the 29th of Sept. A.D. 690, and Berhtwald was elected archbishop of Canterbury 1st July, A.D. 692.

[4] *Hæc de Glastoniensis . . . . . sufficiat.*] The preceding account of Glastonbury is abridged from Malmesbury's own History De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. written subsequently to the year 1129. It occurs in four of the best manuscripts which have been consulted, viz. *D. E. F. M.*

[5] *Filio fratris pene tertiam regni partem magnanima liberalitate communicaret.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that Cynewealh gave to his kinsman Cuthred 3,000 hides of land, equal to about 300,000 acres.

[6] *Regales.*] *S. C. D. E.*; regalis, *A. L. M.*

[7] *Admonitionum.*] *S. C. D. E.*; monitionum, *A. L.*

Aegilberht, bishop of Wessex.

provinciæ episcopi [1] Angilbertus, de quo multa in [2] gestis Anglorum quæ probes invenies, et nepos ejus [3] Leutherius, post ipsum in West-Saxonia [4] septem annis pontificio functus: quod eo non prætermisi, quia de annis præsulatus ejus [5] Beda nihil expressum reliquit, mihi [6] ex Chronicis cognitum dissimulare præter religionem videbatur: simul quia se ingerebat occasio, [7] amplectenda erat prædicabilis viri mentio, qui Malmesbiriense monasterium in quo terreni incolatus prætendimus militiam, acri pene et divino mentis intuitu ex humili ad amplissimum statum [8] evexit, quod [9] a [10] Meildulfo, [11] natione, ut aiunt, Scotto, [12] eruditione philosopho, professione monacho, adeo angustis sumptibus elaboratum, ut inhabitantes ægre quotidianum victum expedirent, ipse diu multumque

Bishop Leutherius advances the monastery of Malmesbury.

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[1] *Angilbertus.*] Aegilberht was consecrated bishop of Dorchester A.D. 650. He resigned his see in 661, retired into Northumberland, and afterwards accepted the bishoprick of Paris. See Beda, lib. III. c. 28.

[2] *Gestis Anglorum quæ probes invenies.*] *D. E.*; gestis pontificum Anglorum quæ probes invenies, *A.*; gestis Anglorum Bedæ invenies, *S. C.*—See Beda, Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum, lib. III. c. 25 and c. 28.

[3] *Leutherius.*] Leutherius, nephew of Bishop Aegilberht, obtained the bishoprick over the West-Saxons A.D. 670. (Sax. Chron.) Wini was expelled A.D. 666; and upon that Beda (lib. III. c. 7, § 170) writes, 'Sicque provincia Occidentalium Saxonum tempore non pauco absque præsule fuit.' Leutherius continued bishop, says Godwin, seven years. He died in 676, and was succeeded by Heddi. See Malmes. De Gestis Pontif. lib. II. De Episcopis Occiden. Sax.

[4] *Septem annis pontificio.*] *A. D. E.*; septenni pontificio, *S. C.*; septenni annis pontificio, *L.*

[5] *Beda nihil expressum reliquit.*] Beda, lib. IV. c. 12, § 286.

[6] *Ex Chronicis.*] See Sax. Chron. A.D. 670.

[7] *Amplectenda erat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; et amplectenda, *C.*

[8] *Evexit.*] *A. D. E. L.*; provexit, *S. C.*

[9] *A Meildulfo.*] *C. D. E.*; a quodam Meildulfo, *A. S. L.*

[10] *Meildulfo.*] An Irish monk, who founded a hermitage at Malmesbury about the year 660. See Beda, lib. v. c. 18, and Smith's note.

[11] *Natione, ut aiunt, Scotto.*] There is a distinction between the '*Scoti qui Hiberniam,*' and the '*Scoti qui Britanniam, inhabitant.*'

[12] *Eruditione philosopho.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; eruditione, ut aiunt, philosopho, *C.*

librato consilio Aldelmo ejusdem loci monacho, pro jure tunc episcoporum regendum contradidit. Qua de re, ut omnem sermo noster dubietatis deprecetur offensam, verba ejus hic aliqua intexam.

§ 30. 'Ego Leutherius gratia Dei episcopus, pontificatus [1] Saxoniæ gubernacula regens, rogatus sum ab abbatibus qui sub jure parochiæ nostræ cœnobiali monachorum agmini pastorali solicitudine præesse noscuntur, uti terram illam, cui inditum est vocabulum [2] Meildulfesburh, Aldelmo presbytero ad [3] degendam regulariter vitam conferre largirique dignarer. In quo videlicet loco a primo ævo infantiæ, atque ab ipso tirocinio, rudimentorum liberalibus literarum studiis [4] eruditus, et in gremio sanctæ matris ecclesiæ nutritus, vitam duxit. Et ob hoc potissimum hanc petitionem fraterna caritas suggerere videtur: quapropter, prædictorum abbatum precibus annuens, ipsum locum tam sibi quam successoribus suis normam sanctæ regulæ solerti devotione sequentibus, fraterna petitione coactus, ultroneus concedo. Actum publice [5] juxta flumen Bladon, [6] septimo kalendas Septembris, anno incarnationis Dominicæ sexcentesimo septuagesimo [7] secundo.'

His grant of Malmesbury to Aldhelm, A.D. 672.

§ 31. Cum igitur industria abbatis accederet

Account of Aldhelm.

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[1] *Saxoniæ.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; West-Saxoniæ, *D. M.*

[2] *Meildulfesburh.*] Malmesbury, so called after Maildulf.

[3] *Degendam.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; *E.* reads 'regendam *vel* degendam.'

[4] *Eruditus.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[5] *Juxta flumen Bladon.*] This river has been conjectured to be the Avon. See a copy of King Aethilbald's charter (A.D. 718), which has these words: 'Terram sex cassatorum, juxta fluvium cui nomen est Bladaen, prope vadum cui vocabulum est Daeglesford.' (Cod. Dip. Ævi Angl. Saxon. J. M. Kemble; tom. I. p. 82, No. LXIX.) There was an ancient British town called Caer Bladon on the site of the present town of Malmesbury.

[6] *Septimo.*] *A. D. E. L.*; octavo, *S. C.*

[7] *Secundo.*] *D. E.*; quinto, *A. S. C.*; primo, *M.*

favori pontificis, tunc res monasterii in immensum efferri, tunc monachi undique congregari; currebatur ad Aldelmum totis compitis; his vitæ sanctimoniam, his literarum scientiam desiderantibus. Erat enim vir ille tum religione simplex, tum eruditione multiplex, et qui famam virtute præiret, liberalium artium epotator, ut esset mirabilis in singulis, et in omnibus singularis. Mentior, si non hoc testantur [1]De Virginitate codices immortalis ejus ingenii indices, quibus meo judicio nihil dulcius, nihil splendidius: quamvis, ut est nostri seculi desidia, quibusdam pariant nauseam, non attendentibus [2]qui juxta mores gentium varientur modi dictaminum. Denique Græci involute, Romani circumspecte, Galli splendide, Angli pompatice dictare solent. Sane, [3]quoniam dulce est majorum inhærere gratiæ, eorumque exemplis ignire memoriam, non invitus evolverem quantos hic sanctus pro ecclesiæ nostræ privilegio sudores insumpserit, quot miraculis vitam insignierit, nisi [4]quia alias avocamur; et facta ejus etiam meracius lippienti apparent oculo, [5]quam nostro possint adumbrari [6]pincello. Innumera signa, quæ modo apud ejus fiunt memoriam, ostendunt præsentibus præteritæ illius vitæ sanctimoniam. Habet ergo ille laudes

[1] *De Virginitate codices.*] Scripsit et [Aldhelm] De Virginitate librum eximium, quem in exemplum Sedulii, geminato opere, et versibus hexametris et prosa composuit. Beda, lib. v. c. 18, § 410. The prose is printed by Wharton, 4to. 1693: and the verse in Canisii Thesaurus Monumentorum, tom. I. p. 709, Antverpiæ, 1725, folio; and at Paris, 1676, 8vo.

[2] *Qui.*] *E.*; quibus, *D. M.*; quia, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Quoniam dulce est.*] *A. D. E. L.*; quoniam dulce videtur, *S.*; qui dulce videtur, *C.*

[4] *Quia.*] *A.S.D.E.L.*; quod, *C.*

[5] *Quam nostro possint adumbrari pincello.*] Malmesbury wrote a life of St. Aldhelm, which forms the fifth book, De gestis Pontificum; it has been published by Savile and Gale, and by Wharton in the Anglia Sacra, part II. p. 1. Aldhelm died on the 25th of May, A.D. 709.

[6] *Pincello.*] *E.*; pincillo, *A. C. D. L.*; penicello, *S.*

suas, habet meritis partam gloriam: nostra oratio prosequatur historiam.

§ 32. [1] Kenwalkius, post triginta et unum annos moriens, regni arbitrium uxori Sexburgæ delegandum putavit: nec deerat mulieri spiritus ad obeunda regni munia; ipsa novos exercitus moliri, veteres tenere in officio, ipsa subjectos clementer moderari, hostibus minaciter infremere, prorsus omnia facere, ut nihil præter sexum discerneres: veruntamen plus quam fœmineos animos anhelantem vita destituit, annua vix potestate perfunctam.

Death of Cynewealh, A.D. 673. Sexburh.

Death of Sexburh, A.D. 675.

§ 33. Sequens [2] biennium in regno transegit [3] Escuinus, regali prosapiæ proximus, quippe qui fuerit Cinegisli ex fratre Cuthgislo abnepos; quo decedente, vel morte sua, vel vi aliena, neutrum enim expedite invenio, vacantem aulam successione legitima implevit [4] Chentwinus, Chinegisli filius: ambo notæ in bello experientiæ, siquidem [5] ille Mercios, [6] iste Britannos anxia clade [7] perculerint, sed temporis brevitate miserandi; nam imperium secundi non ultra novennium prorogatum, primi [8] biennium superior sermo absolvit. Et hoc secundum Chronicorum fidem: cæterum, non eos regno integro imperitasse, sed inter se [9] divisisse, [10] Beda confirmat.

Aescwini, A.D. 675.

Centwini, A.D. 676.

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[1] *Kenwalkius.*] Cynewealh died without issue A.D. 673; his widow, Sexburh, reigned one year after him, and died in the beginning of the year 675.

[2] *Biennium.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; triennium, *C.*

[3] *Escuinus.*] Aescwini succeeded Sexburh in the beginning of the year 675, and died at the end of the year 676.

[4] *Chentwinus.*] Centwini succeeded to the throne in 676, and died A.D. 685.

[5] *Ille Mercios.*] Aescwini fought at Beadan-head (Bedwin) in 675. (Sax. Chron.)

[6] *Iste Britannos.*] A.D. 682, Centwini drove the Britons to the sea. (Sax. Chron.)

[7] *Perculerint.*] *D. E.*; perculit, *S.*; perculerit, *A. C. L.*

[8] *Biennium.*] *A. S. D. L. M.*; triennium, *C. E.*

[9] *Divisisse.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; divisisse regna, *C.*

[10] *Beda confirmat.*] Lib. IV. c. 12, § 286.

Caedwalla, A.D. 685.

§ 34. Tunc regiæ indolis nobile germen [1]Kedwalla emicuit, Cheaulini ex fratre Cuda pronepos, immodicæ spei juvenis, et qui nullam occasionem exercendæ virtutis præterire nosset. Qui cum jamdudum, [2]efficacioribus studiis bilem principum suæ patriæ irritasset, factione conspiratorum in exilium actus est. Hanc ille amplexatus injuriam, ut omni milite provinciam spoliaret, quicquid bello idoneum erat [3]abduxit; namque, seu miseratione fortunarum ejus infracta, seu virtute delectata, tota pubes exulem secuta. Excepit primum impetum [4]furentis rex Australium Saxonum [5]Edelwalchius, manum conserere ausus; sed, cum omni populo quem ductaverat fusus, sero prærupti consilii pœnitentiam fecit. Animis suorum erectis, [6]Chedwalla, maturato insperatoque reditu, æmulos potentiæ adortus regno abegit. Ita per biennium [7]regno potitus, præclara rei bellicæ facinora consummavit: Australibus Saxonibus [8]digladiabili odio infestus, successorem Edelwalchii, Edricum, repetita occurrentem audacia, exitio dedit. Wehtam insulam fiducia Merciorum rebellantem parum abfuit quin deleret. Præterea [9]Cantuaritas aggressus, crebras de illis victorias reportavit. Postremo, [10]ut supra diximus, [11]fratre amisso, regione decessit, plurimo accolarum sanguine damnum consolatus suum.

Defeats Aethilwealh, king of Sussex, A.D. 685.

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[1] *Kedwalla.*] Caedwalla began to reign A.D. 685. (Sax. Chron.)

[2] *Efficacioribus.*] *A. D. E. L.*; efficacibus, *S. C.*

[3] *Abduxit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; corrasit, *C.*

[4] *Furentis.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[5] *Edelwalchius.*] See Beda, lib. IV. c. 15, § 297.

[6] *Chedwalla.*] *A. S. D. E.*; omitted in *C.*

[7] *Regno.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; eo, *C.*

[8] *Digladiabili.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; veteri, *C.*

[9] *Cantuaritas.*] *A. D. E. L.*; after 'Cantuaritas,' 'ut supra in rebus eorum digessi,' *S. C.*

[10] *Ut supra diximus.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*—See p. 22, § 14.

[11] *Fratre amisso.*] See note [11], p. 47.

Inter hæc arduum memoratu est, quantum etiam ante baptismum inservierit pietati, ut omnes manubias, quas jure prædatorio in suos usus transcripserat, Deo decimaret. In quo etsi approbamus affectum, improbamus exemplum, juxta illud: '[1] Qui offert sacrificium de substantia pauperis, quasi qui [2] immolat filium in conspectu patris.' Jam vero quod Romam [3] baptizandus contenderit, ibique a Sergio [4] papa Petrus vocatus, [5] adhuc[6] in albis positus supremum arbitrium feliciter incurrerit, notius est quam ut nostro indigeat illustrari relatu.

His piety.

Abdicates, and goes to Rome, A.D. 688; His baptism and death, A.D. 689.

§ 35. Eo Romam eunte, regnum per [7] Inam novatum, qui Chinegisli ex fratre Cuthbaldo pronepos, magis pro insitivæ virtutis industria, quam successivæ sobolis prosapia, in principatum [8] ascitur, [9] fortitudinis specimen, prudentiæ simulacrum, religione parem nescias: quibus artibus vitam componens, domi gratiam, foris reverentiam, mercabatur. Adeo [10] annis duobus de quadraginta, potestate functus, sine ullo insidiarum metu securus incanuit, sanctissimus publici amoris lenocinator. Prima illi in Cantuaritas expeditio, in quos nondum [11] de incendio Mollonis ira defremu-

Ini, A.D. 688.

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[1] *Qui offert.*] Ecclus. xxxiv. 24.

[2] *Immolat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; victimat, *C.*

[3] *Baptizandus.*] Caedwalla abdicated, and went to Rome, A.D. 688. He was baptized by Pope Sergius on the Saturday before Easter Sunday, A.D. 689, and died a few days afterwards (20th April). Beda, lib. v. c. 7, § 372.

[4] *Papa.*] *A. D. E. L.*; after 'papa,' 'baptizatus et,' *S. C.*

[5] *Adhuc.*] *A. D. E. L.*; adhucque, *S. C.*

[6] *Adhuc in albis positus.*] The catechumen was always baptized the Saturday immediately before Easter Sunday, and wore a white robe until the first Sunday after Easter; hence the term 'Dominica in albis.'

[7] *Inam.*] Ini came to the throne A.D. 688. (Sax. Chron.)

[8] *Ascitur.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; asciscitur, *D. M.*

[9] *Fortitudinis specimen.*] *D. E.*; fortitudinis unicum specimen, *A. S. C. L.*

[10] *Annis duobus de quadraginta.*] *A.C.D.E.L.*; de sexaginta, *S.*— According to Beda, Ini reigned thirty-seven years. Beda, § 373.

[11] *De incendio Mollonis.*] Mull was burned A.D. 687. (Sax. Chron.)

erat. Provinciales [1]paulisper resistere ausi, mox [2]omnibus tentatis, et viribus in ventum effusis, cum nihil in pectore Inæ quod ignaviæ conduceret reperissent, dispendiorum suorum intuitu deditioni consuluere: tentant regium animum muneribus, solicitant promissis, nundinantur pacem [3]triginta millibus auri [4]mancis ut pretio [5]mollitus bellum solveret, metallo [6]præstrictus receptui caneret. Qua ille pecunia suscepta delicti gratiam fecit in regnum reversus. Nec solum Cantuaritæ, sed et Orientales Angli hæreditarium exceperunt odium, omni nobilitate primo pulsa, post etiam bello fusa. Hæc de præliorum ejus successu dicta, modum [7]agnoscant suum: cæterum, [8]quantus in Dei rebus fuerit, indicio sunt [9]leges ad corrigendos mores in populum latæ; in quibus vivum ad hoc tempus puritatis suæ resultat speculum; indicio sunt monasteria regiis sumptibus nobiliter [10]excitata, præcipue Glastingense, in quo beati

A.D. 694.

His piety.

Account of Glastonbury.

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[1] *Paulisper.*] *A. D. E. L.*; parumper, *S.*; parum, *C.*

[2] *Omnibus tentatis.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; *E.* omits 'tentatis.'

[3] *Triginta millibus auri mancis.*] The manca and the ancient marca are by some thought to be synonymous, and to be money, either gold or silver, which was paid in weight. The value of the manca of gold is not exactly known; it is believed to be eight to the pound. The manca of silver in the time of Henry I. was estimated at six shillings, five pence to the shilling; and, in the reign of Edward III, at only thirty pence of the money of that period. According to the Saxon Chronicle, Ini received thirty thousand pounds from the Kentishmen, because they had formerly burned Mull. This payment seems excessive; but it was probably the legal compensation for the death of Mull. Ethelward says it was '30,000 solidi per singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis,' and Florence of Worcester 3,750 pounds.

[4] *Mancis.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; marcis, *S.*

[5] *Mollitus.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[6] *Præstrictus.*] *S. D. E. L.*; restrictus, *C.*; præscriptus, *A.*

[7] *Agnoscant suum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; cognoscant, *C.*

[8] *Quantus.*] *S. D. E. L.*; quantum, *A. C.*

[9] *Leges.*] A new edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws is being printed under the editorship of Mr. Thorpe.

[10] After 'excitata,' *A. L. G.* and other MSS., with slight variations, read the following, omitting all the text as far as 'pontificis,' at the end of § 36:

'Præcipue Glastoniense nos-

martyris Indracti et sociorum ejus corpora, de loco martyrii translata, jussit inferri. Ipsius quidem in lapidea pyramide ad sinistrum altaris

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tris quoque diebus insignissimum, quod in quodam palustri recessu construxit, ut scilicet eo tenacius supernis monachi inhiarent, quo castigatius terrena oculis haurirent. Affuit consilio pater Aldelmus, cujus ille præcepta audiebat humiliter, suscipiebat granditer, adimplebat hilariter. Denique et privilegium quod pro libertate monasteriorum suorum ab apostolico Sergio impetraverat libens confirmavit, et multa Dei famulis ejus hortatu contulit, et ad extremum episcopatu renitentem honoravit; licet vitam tanti viri mundo cita mors inviderit, vix enim annis quatuor episcopatu functus animam cœlo thurificavit, anno Dominicæ incarnationis septingentesimo nono. Fuerunt qui dicerent eum fuisse regis nepotem ex Kentenio fratre, sed non placuit nobis pro vero arrogare quod magis videtur opinioni blandiri volaticæ, quam stabilitati convenire historicæ, præsertim cum nusquam ab antiquo scriptum reperiatur, et Chronica palam pronuntiet Inam nullum fratrem habuisse præter Ingeldum, qui paucis annis ante ipsum decessit. Non eget Aldelmus ut mendaciis asseratur. Tanta sunt de illo quæ indubiam depromant fidem, tot sunt quæ non veniant in litem. Habuit sane Ina sorores Cuthburgam et Quenburgam: Cuthburga Alfrido Northanimbrorum regi nuptum tradita, sed, non post multum conjugio diducto, primo apud Berkingum sub abbatissa Hildelida, mox ipsa magistra regulæ Wimburne Deo placitam vitam transegit. Vicus est modo ignobilis, tunc temporis insignis, in quo frequens virginum chorus, terrenis desideriis castratis, superos suspirabat amores. Accessit sacri cælibatus studio librorum Aldelmi De Virginitate lectio, Berkingensium quidem nomini dedicata, sed omnibus eandem professionem anhelantibus valitura. Habuit et uxorem Ethelburgam, fœminam sane regii generis et animi; quæ dum crebro viri instillaret auribus ut mundanis rebus vel extremis annis valefacerent, et ille hortantem de die in diem differet, astu tandem vincere parat. Cum enim quadam vice apud villam ingenti tumultu regales luxus explicuissent, postridie cum discessissent, villicus, ex reginæ conscientia, palatium quanta potest deformitate, tam fimo pecudum, quam aggere ruderum, infamat. Postremo in lecto ubi cubuerant, porcam noviter enixam collocat. Interea, cum jam plus milliario processum esset, illa maritum uxoriis delinimentis aggreditur, rogans ut illuc unde abierant necessario pedem referant; magni discriminis rem fore, si non exaudiat. Re non difficulter impetrata, rex videns locum pridie Sardanapalicis deliciis parem, nunc fœda solitudine deformem, miratur, tacitoque judicio oculi rem examinantes ad mulierem rediere. Tunc illa occasionem aucupata, lætumque subridens, "Et ubi sunt," ait, "domine conjux, hesterni strepitus? ubi aulæa Sidoniis fucis ebria? ubi parasitorum discurrens petulantia? ubi Dædalia vasa pondere metallorum mensas ipsas onerantia? ubi terra marique exquisita ad gulæ lenocinium obsonia? nonne omnia fumus et ventus? et væ his qui

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(cum quo posterorum diligentia beatam [1] Hildam locavit), cæterorum in pavimento, prout vel casus tulit vel industria, [2] locavit. Hic etiam beatorum apostolorum ecclesiam, huic vetustæ, de qua loquimur, appendicem, a fundamentis ædificavit, et magnis possessionibus ditavit, et privilegium in hæc verba concessit.

King Ini's charter to Glastonbury, A.D. 725.

§ 36. '[3] In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Ina regali a Domino fretus dignitate, cum consilio Sexburgæ reginæ, et licentia [4] Beortpaldi, Dorobernensis ecclesiæ pontificis, et omnium suffraganeorum suorum, [5] necnon hortatu Baldredi et Adelardi subregulorum, ecclesiæ vetustæ quæ est in loco qui dicitur Glasteie, (quam Magnus Sacerdos et Summus Pontifex suo et angelorum obsequio sibi ac perpetuæ virgini Mariæ, beato David, multis et inauditis miraculis, olim se sanctificasse [6] innotuit,) ex his quæ paterna hæreditate possideo, et in dominium peculiare teneo, locis

hæserint, qui simul transibunt. Nonne omnia sicut fluvius præceps et currens in mare? et væ his qui hæserint, quia simul trahentur. Cogita, quæso, quam miserabiliter defluent carnes, quæ modo in deliciis nutriuntur. Nonne nos, qui ingurgitamur uberius, putrescemus miserius? Potentes potenter tormenta patientur, et fortioribus fortior instat cruciatio." Nec plura locuta, maritum compulit in sententiam exemplo, quam multis annis frustra insusurraverat verbo.' *S.* reads as above, with these words after 'haurirent:' 'cui quantum splendoris adjecerit, libellus ille docebit, quem de antiquitate ejusdem monasterii elaboravi;' and after 'septingentesimo nono,' these words, 'in vigilia S. Augustini Anglorum apostoli, 8vo kal. Junii.' *C.* reads, 'Præcipue Glastoniense, cui quantum splendoris adjecerit, libellus ille docebit, quem de antiquitate monasterii ejusdem elaboravi. Aderat consilio,' &c.

[1] *Hildam.*] Abbess of Streaneshalch (Whitby), born in 614, and died 17th Nov. 680. She was the daughter of Hereric, son of Eadfrith, son of King Eadwin. Beda (lib. IV. c. 23) calls her 'filia nepotis Æduini regis vocabulo Hererici.'

[2] *Locavit.*] *E.*; dictavit, *D. M.*

[3] *In nomine ... pontificis.*] The charter of Ini of Wessex, A.D. 725, is not considered genuine. See Cod. Dip. Ævi Sax. J. M. Kemble; tom. I. p. 85, No. LXXIII.

[4] *Beortpaldi.*] Berhtwald was elected archbishop of Canterbury 1st July, A.D. 692, and died 9th January, A.D. 731.

[5] *Necnon hortatu.*] *E.*; necnon etiam hortatu, *D. M.*

[6] *Innotuit.*] See antea, p. 38, § 25.

continuis et congruentibus concedo, ad supplementum vitæ regularis, et ad usum monachorum, Brente decem hidas, Sepeie decem hidas, Piltune viginti hidas, Dulting viginti hidas, Bleddanhid' unam hidam, cum his omnibus quæ antecessores mei eidem ecclesiæ contulerunt; [1]Chenepalchius, qui, Theodoro archiepiscopo interveniente, Ferremere, Bregereie, Coneneie, [2]Matineseie, Ederedeseie; Chentpinus, qui Glastingeie matrem sanctorum vocare solitus fuerat, et eam ab omni seculari et ecclesiastico obsequio immunem statuit, et hanc privilegii dignitatem concessit, ut habeant fratres ejusdem loci potestatem eligendi et constituendi sibi rectorem, [3]juxta regulam sancti Benedicti; [4]Hedde episcopus, qui, Chedpalla annuente et propria manu (licet paganus) confirmante, Lantocai; Baldred, qui Pennard, sex hidas; Adelard, qui [5]Poelt, sexaginta hidas, me annuente et confirmante, dederunt. Quorum ego devotioni et benignæ petitioni assentio, et contra malignantium hominum et oblatrantium canum insidias, regalium munimine invigilo literarum, quatinus ecclesia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ, sicut in regno Britanniæ est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem, nec ulli omnino hominum ancillare obsequium in terris faciat, quæ super choros angelorum dominatur in cœlo. Igitur summo pontifice [6]Gregorio annuente, et ut matrem Domini

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[1] *Chenepalchius.*] See antea, p. 41, § 29.

[2] *Matineseie.*] Mannesheie, *D.M.*

[3] *Juxta regulam sancti Benedicti.*] Benedict, the founder of the Benedictine order, died, according to Mabillon, in the year 543.

[4] *Hedde episcopus.*] Bishop of Winchester. See note [4], p. 35.

[5] *Poelt.*] *E.*; Woelt, *D. M.*

[6] *Gregorio.*] Gregory the Second was ordained pope 19th May, A.D. 715; died 10th Feb. A.D. 731.

sui in sinum et protectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ, meque licet indignum cum ipsa suscipiente, consentientibus etiam omnibus Britanniæ regibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, atque abbatibus, statuo ego atque confirmo, quatinus omnes terræ et loca et possessiones beatæ Mariæ Glasteie sint quieta, et ab omnibus regiis exactionibus et operibus quæ indici solent, videlicet, expeditione, et pontis arcisve constructione, et ab omnium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum promulgationibus et perturbationibus, sicut in antiquis ejusdem ecclesiæ cartis confirmatum esse invenitur, et a prædecessoribus meis Chenewalchio, Chentwino, Chedwalla, Baltredo astipulatum esse dinoscitur, inconcussa et illibata permaneant. Et quæcunque emerserint causæ, in homicidiis, sacrilegiis, veneficiis, furtis, rapinis, in dispositione ecclesiarum et descriptione, in ordinatione clericorum, in conventiculis synodalibus, et in omnibus judiciariis examinationibus, absque ullius hominis præjudicio, abbatis et conventus dispositione finiantur. Sed et omnibus regni mei regibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, et principibus, super honorem suum et amorem meum præcipio, et omnibus, tam meis quam eorum ministris, super salutem corporis sui præcipio, ne ullus eorum insulam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ Glasteie, nec ejusdem ecclesiæ possessiones, causa placitandi, perscrutandi, rapiendi, vel aliquid faciendi quod ibidem Deo famulantibus possit esse in scandalum, audeat intrare. Illud sane omnipotentis Dei et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et omnium sanctorum interdictione prohibeo, ne in ipsa Glastingensi ecclesia, nec in ecclesiis sibi subditis, videlicet, Soweie, Brente, Merlinch,

[1]Sapwic, Stret, Budecalech, [2]Piltune, nec in earum capellis, sed nec in insulis, aliqua interveniente occasione, episcopus sibi episcopalem cathedram statuere, nec solennes celebrare, nec altaria consecrare, nec ecclesias dedicare, nec ordines facere, nec aliquid omnino disponere præsumat, nisi ab abbate, vel a fratribus ejusdem loci invitatus fuerit. Quod si ad hoc vocatus venerit, nihil de rebus ecclesiæ, sed nec de ipsis oblationibus ipse sibi aliquid usurpet, sciens duobus in locis ex ipsius ecclesiæ possessionibus duas sibi delegatas mansiones, unam in [3]Piltuna, alteram in villa quæ [4]Poelt dicitur, ut habeat ubi vel adveniens hospitetur, vel inde veniens sese recipiat. Neque enim eum ibi, nisi importunitate temporis aut molestia corporis detentus fuerit, aut ab abbate vel fratribus rogatus fuerit, nec amplius quam cum tribus aut cum quatuor clericis pernoctare licet. Hoc etiam prævideat idem episcopus, ut singulis annis cum clericis suis qui [5]Fontineto sunt, ipsam matrem suam Glastoniensem ecclesiam, videlicet feria secunda post Ascensionem Domini, cum letania recognoscat. Quod si superbia inflatus eam distulerit, et quæ superius dicta et confirmata sunt prævaricaverit, mansiones sibi superius delegatas amittat. Abbas vel monachi a quocumque voluerint, qui Pascha canonicum celebret, ecclesiastica sacramenta in Glastingensi ecclesia, et in ecclesiis sibi subditis, et in earum capellis, percipiant. Quisquis autem hujus munificentiæ meæ et liberalitatis testamentum, quovis deinceps tempore, aliqua occasione, cujuslibet etiam dig-

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[1] *Sapwic.*] *E.*; Sapweie, *D.M.*
[2] *Piltune.*] *E.*; Wiltune, *D.M.*
[3] *Piltuna.*] *E.*; Wiltuna, *D.M.*
[4] *Poelt.*] *E.*; Wohelt, *D. M.*
[5] *Fontineto.*] Wells, in Somersetshire.

nitatis vel professionis vel gradus, pervertere vel in irritum deducere tentaverit, sciat se cum Juda proditore æterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum periturum flammis. Scripta est hujus donationis pagina, anno Dominicæ incarnationis septingentesimo [1] vicesimo quinto, indictione quarta, sub præsentia Inæ regis, et Beortwaldi Dorobernensis pontificis.'

Ini abdicates and goes to Rome, A.D. 726;

§ 37. [2]Post triumphales autem bellorum manubias, post multarum virtutum gradus, summum culmen perfectionis meditatus, [3]Romam [4]adivit [5]anno Dominicæ incarnationis septingentesimo vicesimo. Ibi ne pompam suæ conversionis faceret, non publicis [6]vultibus expositus, crinem deposuit; sed ut solius Domini oculis placeret, amictu plebeio tectus, clam consenuit: nec deerat tanti dux

accompanied by his queen.

fœmina facti; quæ cum antea virum ad hoc audendum incitasset, tunc mœrentem verbis lenire, labantem exemplis erigere, prorsus quod [7]ad salutem ejus spectaret, nihil dimitteret. Ita mutua

Their death.

caritate connexi temporibus suis, viam hominum ingressi sunt; non sine magnis, ut accepimus,

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[1] *Vicesimo quinto.*] *E.*; decimo quinto, *D. M.*

[2] *Post triumphales.*] The account of the foundation of Glastonbury, and of the measures adopted by Queen Ethelburga to induce her husband to undertake the pilgrimage to Rome, printed in note [10], pp. 48—50, is omitted in *D.E.F.M.*, and Ini's charter to Glastonbury is inserted instead.

[3] *Romam adivit.*] The exact time of Ini's abdication and journey to Rome is not by any means certain. Several of the MSS. entirely omit the date. In two MSS. however, the year 720 is assigned for it, incorrectly as it seems. Beda writes, that Ini had reigned thirty-seven years when he left his kingdom; and, according to this computation, his abdication must have taken place at the end of the year 725, or in the beginning of 726; but, according to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, it occurred in 728. A.D. 726 would seem to be the correct date.

[4] *Adivit.*] *D. E.*; abiit, *A. S. C. L.*

[5] *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis septingentesimo vicesimo.*] *D. M.*; a blank is left for the date in *E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[6] *Vultibus expositus, crinem deposuit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; militibus comam et deposuit, *C.*

[7] *Ad.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

miraculis, quibus divina dignatio felicium conjugum [1]sæpe respondet meritis.

§ 38. Successit principatui [2]Edelardus, Inæ consanguineus, licet surgentes ejus primitias frequenter interpolaret [3]Oswaldus regii sanguinis adolescens. Provincialibus [4]enim in rebellionem excitatis, bello regem persequi conatus: sed non multo post, [5]illo fatali sorte sublato, Edelardus per quatuordecim annos quietissime retentum regnum Cudredo cognato reliquit. [6]Hic Glastingensi ecclesiæ multa beneficia intulit, et privilegium in hæc verba concessit.

Aethelheard, A.D. 726.

Cuthred, A.D. 741.

§ 39. '[7]In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Cudredus rex [8]Westseaxana universa priorum regum suppetitia, Chentwines, Baldredes, Chedwallan, Ines, Ethelardes, Ethbaldes regis Merciorum, in villis, et in vicis, atque agris, ac prædiis, massisque majoribus, ut est pristina urbs Glestingi corroborata, [9]sicque propriæ manus subscriptione crucisque signo [10]confirmatum, hoc donativum stabili jure gratum et ratum regum prædictorum decerno durare, quamdiu vertigo poli terras atque æquora circa æthera [11]siderum jusso moderamine volvet. Si quis autem hujus meæ

Cuthred's charter to Glastonbury, A.D. 745.

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[1] *Sæpe.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[2] *Edelardus.*] Aethelheard succeeded to the government upon the abdication of Ini, A.D. 726: according to the Saxon Chronicle, he died A.D. 741.

[3] *Oswaldus regii sanguinis adolescens.*] In the Saxon Chronicle called Osuuald the Aetheling; he was the son of Aethelbald.

[4] *Enim.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; omitted in *D. M.*

[5] *Illo.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[6] *Hic . . . septingentesimo quadragesimo quinto.*] *D.E.F.M.* The text from 'Hic' to 'quinto,' at the end of § 39, is omitted in *A. S. C. L.* and other manuscripts.

[7] *In nomine . . . septingentesimo quadragesimo quinto.*] A charter of Cuthred, king of Wessex, dated A.D. 744, is printed in Cod. Dip. Ævi Sax. p. 112, No. XCIII. The language differs in some respects from that in the text. Mr. Kemble does not consider it a genuine charter.

[8] *Westseaxana.*] *E.*; Westsaxonum, *D. M.*

[9] *Sicque.*] *E.*; suæque, *D. M.*

[10] *Confirmatum.*] *E.*; confirmata, *D. M.*

[11] *Siderum jusso.*] *E.*; sidereum justo, *D. M.*

donationis testamentum, tyrannica fretus insolentia, qualibet occasione interrumpere atque in irritum deducere nisus fuerit, sit a consortio piorum ultimi ventilabro examinis sequestratus, rapaciumque collegio combinatus violentiæ suæ præsumptionem luat in ævum. Qui vero benevola potius præditus intentione hæc probare, roborare, ac defendere studuerit, voti compos ipse Altithroni gloriam auscultet indefecta perennitate cum faustis agminibus angelorum atque omnium sanctorum. Exemplar hujus largitionis promulgatum est in prædicto cœnobio, sub præsentia Cuthredi regis, quod propriæ manus munificentia altario sacro commendavit, in lignea basilica, qua fratres abbatis Hemgisli sarcophagum sortiuntur [1]in die, anno ab incarnatione septingentesimo quadragesimo quinto.'

A.D. 752.[3] A.D. 753.[4] § 40. [2]Adversus Athelbaldum regem Merciorum et Britones idem Cuthredus jugi exercitio victorias adipiscens non parum sudoris consumpsit, ac post annos quatuordecim regni gubernacula reliquit.

Sigiberht, A.D. 755. § 41. [5]Arripuit illud [6]Sigebertus, vir apud suos sævitia immanis, idemque foris ignavia perinfamis: quocirca communi omnium odio conspirante, post

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[1] *In die, anno ab incarnatione.*] *E.*; pridie kalendas Maii anno incarnationis Domini, *D. M.*

[2] *Adversus . . . gubernacula reliquit.*] *D. E. M.*; 'In quo ille pari annorum numero, et virtute non dispari, adversus Ethelbaldum regem Merciorum et Britones jugi exercitio victorias adipiscens, non minimum sudoris consumpsit,' *A. H. G. L. S.*; 'Hic adversus Ethelbaldum regem Merciorum et Britones jugi exercitio victorias adipiscens non minimum sudoris consumpsit, ac post annos sexdecim regni gubernacula reliquit,' *C. K.*

[3] 752.] Cuthred, in the 12th year of his reign, fought at Burford against Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, and put him to flight. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 752.)

[4] 753.] This year Cuthred fought against the Welsh. (Sax. Chron.)

[5] *Arripuit illud.*] *C. D. E. M.*; arripuit regnum, *A. S. L.*

[6] *Sigebertus.*] Sigiberht commenced his reign in 755.

annum solio deturbatus, meliori locum fecit; sed, ut fere in talibus fit, cum [1] magnitudine calamitatis aliquos ad gratiam sui revocasset, eorum virtute provincia quæ Hamtunscire dicitur in obsequio detenta. Verum cum nec sic cessaret, et nece cujusdam Cumbrandi, qui fidelissime sibi adhæserat, cæteros in exitium [2] suum armasset, ad abdita ferarum spelæa [3] secessit; [4] ibi quoque infortunio eum prosequente, [5] a subulco confossus interiit. Ita crudelitas regis omnem pene nobilitatem pervagata, in homine ultimæ sortis stetit.

Expelled from his kingdom, A.D. 756.

Stabbed by a swineherd.

§ 42. Suscepit [6] regni gubernacula [7] Kinnulfus, clarus et ille quidem morum compositione, militiæque gestis: sed uno solo adversus Offam regem Merciorum propter [8] Bensigitune prælio, quarto et vicesimo regni anno victus, multisque perinde dampnis afflictus, fœdo etiam exitu finem vitæ sortitus. Nam cum [9] uno et triginta annis nec ignave nec inmodeste regnasset, seu rerum gloria elatus, quod nihil sibi obviaturum crederet, seu [10] posteritati suæ metuens, contra [11] quam Kineardum Sigeberti fratrem increscere cerneret, illum provinciæ terminos coegit excedere. Qui cedendum

Cyneuulf, A.D. 756.

Battle of Bensington, A.D. 777.

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[1] *Magnitudine.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; magnanimitate, *C.*

[2] *Suum.*] *A.S.D.E.L.*; sui, *C.*

[3] *Secessit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; concessit, *C.*

[4] *Ibi.*] *A. D. E. L.*; illuc, *S. C.*

[5] *A subulco confossus interiit.*] Cyneuulf drove Sigiberht into the forest of Anderida, where he remained until he was stabbed by a swineherd at Privett. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 755.) Compare Florence of Worcester, A.D. 784.

[6] *Regni.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; potestatis, *C.*

[7] *Kinnulfus.*] He came to the throne A.D. 756.

[8] *Bensigitune.*] Bensington, in Oxfordshire. The battle was fought in 777. (Sax. Chron.) This could not, however, have been the twenty-fourth year of Cyneuulf's reign, as stated by Malmesbury.

[9] *Uno et triginta annis.*] Some authorities assign thirty-one years to the reign of Cyneuulf. He commenced his reign at the end of the year 756, and was slain in 785; consequently he reigned only twenty-nine years. It is possible that Malmesbury wrote 'uno de triginta annis,' as he uses a similar expression when writing of the reign of Caedwalla, § 35, 'annis duobus de quadraginta.'

[10] *Posteritati suæ.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; potentatui suo, *C.*

[11] *Quam.*] *A.S.D.E.L.*; quem, *C.*

tempori ratus, dissimulato animo, quasi volens, profugit. Mox cum furtivis conventiculis [1] perditam improborum manum contraxisset, solitudinem regis [2] auspicatus, nam animi causa rus concesserat, cum expeditis eo [3] supervenit, ubi dum illum alienis amoribus inservientem audisset, ex insidiis domum foris obsedit. Rex ancipiti discrimine permotus, cum præsentibus ponderato consilio, fores occlusit, sperans latrones vel mulcere alloquio, vel terrere imperio: cum neutrum procederet, ira percitus in Kineardum insiluit, minimumque [4] abfuit quin vita privaret; sed a multitudine circumventus, dum cedere damnum gloriæ arbitratur, mortem probe ultus occubuit. Pauci ex clientela ejus qui aderant, dum non manus dare, sed herum vindicare [5] intendunt, [6] obtruncati. Extemplo fama mali tanti principum [7] perlabitur aures, qui non longe agebant excubias. Quorum qui maximus ævo et prudentia, Osricus, cæteros [8] cohortatus ne necem domini sui in insignem et perpetuam suam ignominiam inultam dimitterent, districtis gladiis in conjuratos irruit. Kineardus primo causam suam agere, magna polliceri, cognationem prætendere; ubi nihil proficit, ad resistendum [9] commanipulares accendit: dubium certamen fuit; his pro vita, illis pro gloria, summa ope conantibus: tandem diu cunctata victoria in justiorem partem declinavit. Ita miser ille, [10] nequicquam fortiter faciens, animam amisit, non

Death of Cyneuulf, A.D. 785.

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[1] *Perditam.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; perditorum, *C.*

[2] *Auspicatus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; aucupatus, *S.*

[3] *Supervenit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; supervenerat, *C.*

[4] *Abfuit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; obfuit, *C.*

[5] *Intendunt.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; contendunt, *C.*

[6] *Obtruncati.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; obtruncantur, *S.*

[7] *Perlabitur aures.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; perlabitur ad aures, *D. M.*

[8] *Cohortatus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; exhortatus, *S.*

[9] *Commanipulares.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; manipulares, *C.*

[10] *Nequicquam.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; nequaquam, *C.*

[1]longum insidiarum successu gloriatus. Corpus regis Wintoniæ sepultum, illius [2]Respendune, quod erat tunc cœnobium nobile, nunc, ut audivi, pauco vel nullo incolitur habitatore.

§ 43. Post [3]illum [4]regnavit Brictricus annis sexdecim, pacis quam belli studiosior, artifex amicitias componere, externos blande appellare, domesticis connivere, in his duntaxat [5]quæ vigorem regni non enervarent: atque ut ampliorem gratiam apud propinquos locaret, [6]filiam Offæ regis Merciorum, eo tempore potentissimi, in [7]conjugium accepit; de qua, quod sciam, nihil liberorum tulit. Cujus affinitate fultus, Egbirtum solum regalis prosapiæ superstitem, quem validissimum suis utilitatibus metuebat obicem, Franciam fugandum curavit. Nam et ipse Brictricus, et cæteri infra Inam reges, licet natalium splendore gloriantes, quippe qui de Cerdicio traherent originem, non parum tamen a linea regiæ stirpis exorbitaverant. Illo igitur expulso, securo resolvi cœperat otio; [8]cum gens Danorum piratica, rapto vivere assueta, occulte tribus navibus advecta, pacem provinciæ confudit. Quæ scilicet manus, soli ubertatem, inhabitantium virtutem, speculatum venerat, ut postea ejus multitudinis, quæ totam pene inundavit Britanniam, adventu compertum est: tunc enim furtive in alta pace

Beorhtric, A.D. 785.

A.D. 787.

[1] *Longum.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; longo, *D. M.*

[2] *Respendune.*] Repton, in Derbyshire.

[3] *Illum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; Kineuulfum, *C.*

[4] *Regnavit Brictricus annis sexdecim.*] Beorhtric obtained the throne in 785, and died in 802; consequently he reigned seventeen years: this agrees with the period assigned by Simeon of Durham.

[5] *Quæ vigorem regni.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; qui vigorem regium, *C.*

[6] *Filiam Offæ.*] Beorhtric married Eâdburh, King Offa's daughter, in 787. See Flor. Wigorn. an. 787; Asser, De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi; and Sax. Chron.

[7] *Conjugium.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; conjugem, *C.*

[8] *Cum gens Danorum piratica.*] 'A.D. 787. This year came three ships of the Northmen from the land of Robbers.' (Sax. Chron.; Flor. Wigorn. an. 787.)

regni appulsi, regium vicum, qui [1]proximus, involavere, villicum suppetias ferentem letho dedentes; sed mox timore concurrentium amissa præda, ad naves refugerunt. [2]Post Brictricum, qui apud Werram jacet, [3]Egbertus conscendit thronum avitum; omnibus [4]ante se regibus merito præferendus. Et nos ergo, quia usque ad ejus [5]tempus narrationem extendimus, jam nunc ad Northanhimbros, sicut polliciti sumus, animum flectamus.

Ecgberht, A.D. 802.

INCIPIT DE REGNO NORTHANHIMBRORUM.

Arrival of the Saxons in Northumbria.

§ 44. Et [6]supra paucis libavimus, et nunc necessario repetimus, quod Hengestus, confirmato

[1] *Proximus.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; proximus erat, *S.*

[2] *Post Brictricum.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, Beorhtric died in 800; but Simeon of Durham states that he died A.D. 802, having reigned seventeen years.

[3] *Egbertus conscendit thronum.*] Ecgberht, according to most of the authorities, is supposed to have ascended the throne in the year 800. This date, however, does not accord with the period assigned by the best authorities for the duration of the reigns of his predecessors, as the following will show: Aethelheard succeeded in the year 726, and reigned in all nearly fifteen years. Cuthred ascended the throne in the beginning of the year 741; his reign was fourteen years. Sigiberht succeeded in 755, and was expelled from his kingdom after one year's reign. Cyneuulf commenced his reign at the end of the year 756, and, having reigned twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Beorhtric at the close of the year 785. The seventeen years assigned by Simeon of Durham to the reign of Beorhtric, places the commencement of Ecgberht's reign in 802. Hoveden writes, 'Egbertus igitur, anno gratiæ octingentesimo, vel ut quidam volunt octingentesimo secundo, et defuncto Brictrico, successit;' and the latter date seems to be correct. There is, moreover, proof that he was living in 838, the year assigned by the northern chroniclers for his death. In a charter granted in 835, and confirmed the following year, that year is stated to be the thirty-fourth of his reign; another of his charters is dated A.D. 838, confirmed by his son in the year 839, which is also described as the first year of the reign of Etheluulf. The best authority states that his reign lasted upwards of thirty-seven years; his accession must therefore be dated in the year 802, and his death in 839.

[4] *Ante se regibus.*] *A. S. E. L.*; ante se in West-Saxonia regibus, *C. D. M.*

[5] *Tempus.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; tempora, *C.*

[6] *Supra paucis libavimus.*] See p. 12, § 7.

in Cantia regno, fratrem Ohtam et filium Ebusan, acris et probatæ experientiæ viros, ad occupandas aquilonales Britanniæ partes miserit. Illi, [1]imperatis insistentes, convenientem studiis suis exitum habuere; namque sæpenumero cum provincialibus congressi, profligatisque qui resistendum putaverant, reliquos in fidem [2]acceptos placidæ quietis gratia mulcebant. Ita cum et suis artibus et subjectorum favore nonnihil potestatis corrasissent, [3]nunquam tamen regium nomen temerare meditati, ejusdem mediocritatis formam in proximos posteros [4]delineaverunt. Annis enim uno minus centum, Northanhimbri duces communi habitu contenti, sub imperio Cantuaritarum privatos agebant: sed non postea stetit hæc ambitionis continentia, seu quia semper in deteriora declivus est humanus animus, seu quia gens illa naturaliter inflatiores anhelat spiritus. Anno [5]itaque Dominicæ incarnationis quingentesimo quadragesimo septimo, post mortem Hengesti sexagesimo, ducatus in regnum mutatus, regnavitque ibi primus [6]Ida, haud dubie nobilissimus, ætate et viribus integer; verum utrum ipse per se principatum invaserit, an ali-

Northumbria erected into a kingdom, A.D. 547.

Ida.

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[1] *Imperatis.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; præceptis, *C.*

[2] *Acceptos.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; acceptos et, *A.*

[3] *Nunquam . . . agebant.*] The source of this information cannot now be traced.

[4] *Delineaverunt.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; declinaverunt, *S. C.*

[5] *Itaque.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; ergo, *C.*

[6] *Ida.*] Prior to the accession of Ida, the Saxon Chronicle contains no notice of Northumbria. The Saxon Chronicle and Beda (lib. v. c. 24) both consider Ida the founder of this kingdom in 547. It seems doubtful whether Ida was king of both the provinces of Bernicia and Deira, or of the former only. Upon his death in 559, he was succeeded in Bernicia by his sons, who reigned successively till the year 588, when Aethelric, upon the death of Alla, king of Bernicia, and the expulsion of his son Edwin, obtained the government of both kingdoms, which he held for five years, until his death in 593. Compare the statements of Flor. Wigorn. an. 559, and Geneal. Regn. Bernic. et Deiror. with Simeon of Durham.

orum consensu delatum susceperit, parum definio, quia est in abdito veritas: cæterum, satis constat magna et vetere prosapia oriundum, puris et defæcatis moribus multum splendoris generosis contulisse natalibus. Adeo bello invictus, domi severitatem regiam genuina mansuetudine animi temperabat. Possem hoc loco istius, et alibi aliorum, lineam seriatim intexere, nisi quod ipsa vocabula barbarum quiddam stridentia minus quam vellem delectationis lecturis infunderent. Illud [1]tantum non immerito notandum, quod cum Wodenio fuerint tres filii, Weldegius, Wilthegius, Beldegius: de primo, reges Cantuaritarum; de secundo, Merciorum; de tertio, West-Saxonum et Northanhimbrorum, præter duos quos procedens sermo nominare perget, originem traxerint. Hic ergo Ida, sicut absolute invenio, a Beldegio nonus, a Wodenio decimus, [2]quatuordecim annis in regno permansit.

Alla, A.D. 560.

§ 45. [3]Successor ejus Alla, ex eodem quidem genere, sed diverso a Wodenio tractu sanguinem ducens, regnum efficaciter provectum [4]sudorum suorum titulis, per triginta annos nobiliter ampliavit. [5]Hujus tempore venales ex North-

Cause of the conversion of the English.

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[1] *Tantum.*] *D. E. L. M.*; tamen, *A. S. C.*

[2] *Quatuordecim annis.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; annis duodecim, *C.*—In Beda (lib. v. c. 24), the Saxon Chronicle, and other authorities, Ida is stated to have reigned twelve years. Simeon of Durham writes, 'Ida rex regnavit annis xi.'

[3] *Successor ejus Alla.*] He was king of Deira, and ascended the throne A.D. 560. (Sax. Chron.) It does not appear from any other authority that Alla ever reigned over Bernicia, though he is here described as the successor of Ida, whose sons at this time were successively kings of that province.

[4] *Sudorum.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; studiorum, *C.*

[5] *Hujus tempore venales.*] Compare this story with Beda (lib. II. c. 1, § 89), who relates it as merely traditional. It has been inserted in almost the same words by Johannes Diaconus and Paulus Diaconus in their respective lives of St. Gregory. The name of the pope to whom the application was made is omitted in

anhimbria pueri,—familiari, scilicet, et pene ingenita [1]illi nationi consuetudine, adeo ut, sicut nostra quoque secula viderunt, non dubitarent arctissimas necessitudines sub prætextu minimorum commodorum distrahere,—venales ergo ex Anglia pueri, Romam deducti, saluti omnium compatriotarum occasionem dedere; nam cum, miraculo vultus, et lineamentorum gratia, oculos civitatis invitassent, affuit forte cum aliis beatissimus Gregorius, tunc apostolicæ sedis archidiaconus, qui miratus tantam in mortalibus decoris compositionem, miseratus tam abjectam in captivis conditionem, consulit astantes: qui genus? unde domo? Responsum est, esse genere Anglos, [2]provincia Deiros,—est enim Deira provincia Northanhimbriæ,—Allæ regi subditos, paganismo deditos: quorum extremum dolentibus suspiriis prosecutus, reliquis eleganter applausit, ut Angli, *angelis* similes, *de ira* eruerentur, et *Alleluia* [3]cantare docerentur. Nec mora: impetrata a [4]Benedicto papa licentia ad prædicandum, iter adoriri magnanima eximii viri spiravit industria; et profecto conceptum opus pietas ex-

English youths carried to Rome for sale.

Beda. Paulus Diaconus, or the author of the life generally attributed to him, says that it was Pope Pelagius; but Johannes Diaconus, more correctly, Benedict his predecessor: upon his authority, therefore, the occurrence must have been before the year 578.

[1] *Illi nationi consuetudine.*] This custom of selling their children and near relatives to foreign merchants was probably confined to Northumbria. According to a law of Ini, it would seem that national slaves could not be sold legally: 'Si quis compatriotam suum emat servum vel liberum, licet reus sit, ultra mare, solvat eum wara sua.' (Ll. Inæ, c. 12.)

[2] *Provincia Deiros.*] Britain, north of the Humber, was composed of two great regions, Deira and Bernicia. Deira extended from the Humber to the Tyne, and Bernicia from the Tyne to the Frith of Forth. Each province at first had its independent sovereign. See note to Smith's Beda, lib. III. c. 1.

[3] *Cantare.*] *S. E.*; cantitare, *A. D. C. L. M.*

[4] *Benedicto papa.*] Benedict presided from 27th May, A.D. 574, till 25th July, A.D. 578.

plesset, nisi jam profectum factiosus civium amor revocasset. Erat enim vir ille, tum virtutibus clarus, tum civibus carus, quippe qui spem illorum, quam de eo a puero combiberant, incredibili virtute superarit. Ita boni intentio tunc quidem frustrata, postmodum [1]sub pontificatu ejus laudabilem finem accepit, sicut suis lector locis inveniet. Me interim ista inseruisse non piguit, ne lecturorum conscientiam defraudarem de Alla, cujus mentionem perstrinxit patris Gregorii vita; qui, quamquam maxima occasio Christianitatis genti Anglorum fuerit, nihil unquam, sive Dei consilio, sive quodam infortunio, de [2]ea audire meruit. Sane ad filium ejus manavit electio.

Aethelric, A.D. 588.

§ 46. [3]Alla mortuo, adeptus est regnum [4]Ethelricus Idæ filius, post detritam in penuria ætatem, extrema canitie provectus, sed veloci morte de medio post quinque annos sublatus. Miserabilis princeps, et quem fama obscura prorsus [5]occuleret, nisi filii conspicuus vigor patrem in speculam extulisset.

Aethelfrith, A.D. 593.[6]

§ 47. Itaque cum longo senio satietati vitæ satisfecisset, Ethelfridus regnum ascendit, major filiorum, qui teneritudinem annorum maturitate morum consolaretur: cujus gesta per scriptorum facetiam prolata in publicum, non nisi ordinis loco stili nostri expectant officium. Adeo in ejus et sequentium laudibus [7]Bedæ vigilavit ingenium, et illius quidem in confines sibi North-

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[1] *Sub pontificatu ejus.*] Gregory the Great presided from 3d Sept. A.D. 590, to 12th March, A.D. 604.

[2] *Ea.*] *A. S. E. L.*; ipsa, *C.*

[3] *Alla mortuo.*] Alla died A.D. 588. (Sax. Chron.)

[4] *Ethelricus.*] Aethelric reigned over both of the provinces of Bernicia and Deira. He succeeded to the former A.D. 586, and obtained the latter in 588: he died in the year 593. See note [6], at p. 61.

[5] *Occuleret.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; reconderet, *C.*

[6] 593.] Aethelfrith succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians A.D. 593. (Sax. Chron.)

[7] *Bedæ.*] See Beda, Hist. Eccl. Angl. lib. II. c. 2 and 12.

anhimbros, eo familiarius quo propinquius, prospiciebat intentio: nostra vero lacinias illius carpet et componet oratio. Ne quis sane mihi vitio vertat, quod tam diffusa in arctum contrahitur historia, noverit factum consilio, ut qui nauseaverint in illis obsoniis, in his mendicantes respirent reliquiis. Est enim verbum [1] tritum, antiquitate venerandum, 'Cibi qui minus sufficiunt, avidius sumuntur.' Ethelfridus igitur, ut dicere cœperam, regnum nactus, primo acriter sua defendere, post etiam improbe aliena invadere, gloriæ occasiones undecunque conflare. Multa per eum prælia inchoata provide, et consummata egregie, dum nec illum a necessitate frænaret inertia, nec ad temeritatem præcipitaret audacia. Testis est horum [2] Degsa lapis, in illis regionibus percelebris locus, in quo rex Scottorum Edan, qui, successibus Ethelfridi invidens, detractantem etiam in bellum impulerat, non sine magno victoris discrimine victus, fugam iniit; siquidem germanus Ethelfridi, Tetbaldus, caput periculis objectans, eo studiosius quo fratri operam ostentare affectabat impensius, luctuosam victoriam reliquit, cum omnibus [3] commanipularibus suis desideratus. Testis et [4] Legionum civitas, quæ nunc simpliciter Cestra vocatur, quæque ad id temporis a Britannis possessa, contumacis in

Battle of Daegsastân, A.D. 603.

A.D. 613.

[1] *Tritum.*] *E.*; usu tritum, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[2] *Degsa lapis.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; Degla lapis, *D. M.*—The battle of Daegsastân was fought in the year 603. (See Sax. Chron.; Beda, lib. I. c. 34; and Flor. Wigorn.) The modern name of this place is not known: by some it is supposed to be Dalston, near Carlisle; by others Dawston, near Jedborough.

[3] *Commanipularibus.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; manipularibus, *C.*

[4] *Legionum civitas .... Cestra vocatur.*] The British name of this city was Caer-leon, the City of Legions, from a Roman legion being always stationed there. Beda (lib. II. c. 2, § 94) has these words: 'Civitatem Legionum, quæ a gente Anglorum Legacaestir, a Britonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur.'

regem populi alebat superbiam; ad cujus oppugnationem cum intendisset animum, oppidani, qui omnia perpeti quam obsidionem mallent, simul et numero confisi, effuse in bellum ruunt: quos ille insidiis exceptos fudit, fugavitque, [1] prius in monachos debacchatus, qui pro salute exercitus supplicaturi frequentes convenerant. Quorum [2] incredibilem nostra ætate numerum fuisse indicio sunt, in vicino cœnobio tot semiruti parietes ecclesiarum, tot anfractus porticuum, tanta turba ruderum, quantum vix alibi cernas: vocatur [3] locus ille Bancor, tunc monachorum famosum receptaculum, nunc mutatus in episcopium. Ita Ethelfridus, rebus ad voluntatem foris scaturientibus, [4] domesticum metum et intestinum periculum propulsare desiderans, [5] Edwinum Allæ filium, non aspernandæ probitatis juvenem, regno et provincia eliminat: at ille multo tempore incertis jactatus sedibus, multosque olim amicos

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[1] *Prius.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; post, *C.*

[2] *Incredibilem nostra ætate numerum.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that two hundred priests were slain, who went thither to pray for the Welsh army. The exact date of this massacre is not known. There is no date assigned to this event in Beda. Florence places it in the year 603; the Annales Cambriæ in 613; the Saxon Chronicle in 607. Ussher, following the Ulster Annals, refers it to the year 613.

[3] *Locus ille Bancor .... nunc mutatus in episcopium.*] Malmesbury here confounds the ancient monastery of Banchor, near Chester, with the more modern see of Bangor, in Caernarvonshire. (Sharpe, p. 47.) See also Tyrrell, vol. I. book IV. p. 164. There was likewise a monastery at Bangor, in Ulster: see Smith's note to Beda, lib. II. c. 2.

[4] *Domesticum metum et intestinum periculum propulsare.*] *A. S. E. L.*; domesticum et intestinum metum propulsare, *C.*

[5] *Edwinum.*] Upon the death of Alla, king of Deira, his son Eâdwini, being only three years old, was driven from the succession by Aethelric, king of Bernicia, who thereupon united the government of the two provinces. Aethelric died in 593, and was succeeded by his son Aethelfrith; who still continuing his persecution, Eâdwini sought the protection of Reodwalde, king of East Anglia.

procliviores in hostem quam in fidem expertus, quia, [1] ut ille dixit,

'Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos;
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris;'

tandem ad regem Redwaldum Orientalium Anglorum venit; apud quem, deploratis casibus suis, cum resedisset regia dignatione tutus, advenere legati Ethelfridi, vel traditionem transfugæ, vel bellum denunciantes. Ille uxorii pectoris [2] consiliis roboratus, ne fidem amico datam [3] ullius minis corrumperet, [4] super Ethelfridum paratis copiis insperatus advolat; nihilque minus quam insidias opinantem, præmeditatus aggreditur. Quod tunc solum virtus deprehensa potuit, intercluso fugæ spatio, remedium in manus vertit. Quamvis igitur pene inermis, quamvis ancipiti periculo circumventus, non prius tamen occubuit quam interitu Reinerii filii Redwaldi mortem suam compensasset. Hunc exitum, [5] post regni viginti quatuor annos, habuit Ethelfridus, usu quidem bellorum nulli secundus, sed divinæ religionis penitus ignarus. Habuerat ex Acca, filia Allæ, sorore Edwini, [6] filios duos, Oswaldum duodennem, et Oswium [7] quadriennem, qui tunc, occiso genitore, nutritiorum diligentia fuga lapsi, Scotiam evadunt.

Death of Aethelfrith, A.D. 617.

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[1] *Ut ille dixit.*] Ovid. Trist. l. 9, v. 5.

[2] *Consiliis.*] *A. D. E. M.*; consilio, *S. C. L.*

[3] *Ullius.*] *C. D. E. M.*; illius, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Super Ethelfridum.*] Aethelfrith was slain A.D. 617, in a battle with Reodwalde, near Retford, on the river Idle, in Nottinghamshire. (Sax. Chronicle, A.D. 617; Flor. Wigorn. an. 616; and Henry of Huntingdon.)

[5] *Post regni viginti quatuor annos.*] Simeon of Durham, incorrectly as it seems, assigns twenty-eight years to the reign of Aethelfrith.

[6] *Filios duos.*] Osuuald and Oswiû had an elder brother, Eânfrið, who afterwards became king of Bernicia. See post, § 49.

[7] *Quadriennem.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; quadrimum, *S. C.*

DE EDWINO REGE NORTHANHIMBRORUM.

Eâdwini, A.D. 617.

§ 48. Sic [1]Eadwinus, æmulis omnibus [2]fusis fugatisve, pluribus laboribus emeritus, regni fastigium jam non rudis ascendit. Cujus cum dominio mox Northanhimbrorum cervicositas dignanter assurrexisset, accessit ad cumulum felicitatis mors matura Redwaldi; namque provinciales, qui olim apud se exulantem promptæ audaciæ et impigri animi explorassent Edwinum, ultro conjurata fide in ejus ditionem conspirant. Ille, Redwaldi filio inani regis nomine concesso, cætera moderabatur pro arbitrio. Ea tempestate spes atque opes Anglorum in illo sitæ: nec erat quælibet Britanniæ provincia quæ non illius [3]exspectaret nutum, parata ad obsequium, præter solos Cantuaritas. Hos enim immunes excursionis reliquerat, quippe qui jamdudum [4]ad nuptias Ethelburgæ, sororis Edbaldi regis eorum, mentem appulerat: quam cum, longo tempore petitam, tandem aliquando impetrasset, eo consilio ut non contemneret habitam quam diu suspiraverat dilatam, tanto duo illa regna confœderata sunt officio, ut nihil esset vel in potestatibus diversum, vel in moribus barbarum. Eadem præterea occasione [5]Paulino prædicante, Domini Christi fides,
A.D. 627. illis partibus infusa, primo [6]regem ipsum penetravit; quam cum regina marito inter conjugales

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[1] *Eadwinus.*] He succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria on the death of Aethelfrith, in the beginning of the year 617.

[2] *Fusis fugatisve.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; cæsis vel expulsis, *S. C.*

[3] *Exspectaret.*] *E.*; spectaret, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[4] *Ad nuptias Ethelburgæ.*] Eâdwini's marriage with Ethelburga, also called Tatae, daughter of Aethelberht, king of Kent, took place A.D. 625. (Beda, lib. II. c. 9, § 111.)

[5] *Paulino.*] Paulinus was ordained bishop of York 21st July, A.D. 625.

[6] *Regem ipsum penetravit.*] Eâdwini was baptized on Easter Sunday, (12th April,) A.D. 627, in the eleventh year of his reign. (Beda, lib. II. c. 14, § 132.)

affectus crebro inculcaret, et [1]antistitis admonitio suo loco non deesset. Diu ille cunctabundus et anceps, semel tamen susceptam imis inseruit præcordiis: tunc vicinos reges ad fidem invitare, tunc ecclesiarum ædificia excitare, nihil quod ampliandæ fidei congrueret negligere. Interea et devotioni regiæ serenus Deitatis favor arridebat; adeo ut non solum Britanniæ gentes, Angli, Scotti, Picti, sed et Insulæ Orchadum, et Mevaniarum, quas nunc Anglesei, id est, Anglorum insulas, [2]dicunt, et arma ejus metuerent, et potestatem adorarent. Nullus tunc prædo publicus, nullus latro domesticus, insidiator conjugalis pudoris procul, expilator alienæ hæreditatis exul, magnum id in ejus laudibus et nostra ætate splendidum. Itaque imperii sui ad eos limites incrementa perducta sunt, ut justitia et pax libenter in mutuos amplexus concurrerent, osculorum gratiam grata vicissitudine libantes: et feliciter tunc Anglorum respublica procedere potuisset, nisi mors immatura, temporalis beatitudinis noverca, turpi fortunæ ludo, virum abstulisset patriæ. Ætatis enim anno octavo et quadragesimo, regni decimo septimo, [3]expugnantibus regulis quos sub jugum miserat, Chedwalla Britonum, et Penda Merciorum, [4]cum filio interemtus, miserabile varietatis humanæ fecit exemplum: nullo prudentia inferior, [5]quod nec Christianam fidem nisi diligentissime inspecta

Death of Eâdwini, A.D. 633.

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[1] *Antistitis.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; antistitis Paulini, *S.*

[2] *Dicunt.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; dicimus, *S.*

[3] *Expugnantibus.*] *E.*; repugnantibus, *A. D. L. M.*; rebellantibus, *S. C.*

[4] *Cum filio interemtus.*] Eâdwini, with his son Osfrid, was slain at the battle of Hatfield Moor on the 12th October, A.D. 633. (Beda, lib. II. c. 20, § 146; Sax. Chron. A.D. 633; and Flor. Wigorn. an. 633.) The day of his celebration in the English martyrology is the 4th of October.

[5] *Quod nec.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; quod ne, *C.*; qui ne, *S.*

ratione voluit suscipere, susceptæque nihil comparabile existimare.

DE SANCTO OSWALDO REGE.

The sons of Aethelfrith return from Scotland.

§ 49. Occiso Edwino, filii Ethelfridi, [1]iidemque nepotes Edwini, Oswaldus et Oswius, jam adulti, jam juventæ vernantis florem induti, repatriaverunt, simulque qui ætate præstabat Eanfridus, cujus mentio superius excidit. Regnum itaque in duo discretum; siquidem Northanhimbria, jamdudum in geminas secta provincias, ex Deiris Allam, ex Berniciis Idam creaverat. Quapropter tunc filius patrui Eadwini [2]Osricus Deiram, Eanfridus filius Ethelfridi Berniciam sortiti, hæreditarium jus se obtinuisse gloriabantur: ambo in Scotia sacris Christianis initiati, ambo vix dum potestatis compotes fidei transfugæ, non multo post, [3]infestante Chedwalla, fidei relictæ pœnas dedere. Annuum tempus inter has moras exactum, [4]Oswaldum, magnæ spei juvenem, ad imperandi scientiam exercuit. Is fide quam ferro instructior, nam apud Scottos, ubi cum multa nobilium indole exulaverat, baptismi gratiam meruerat, Chedwallum rerum gestarum memoria elatum, virum, ut ipse [5]dictitabat, in exterminium Anglorum natum, primo impetu castris exuit, mox [6]cum omnibus copiis delevit. Cum enim

Osric of Deira, Eânfriδ of Bernicia, A.D. 633.

St. Osuuald, king of Northumbria, A.D. 634.

[1] *Iidemque nepotes Edwini.*] They were sons of Aethelfrith by Acca, sister of Eâdwini. See antea, § 47.

[2] *Osricus Deiram, Eanfridus . . . Berniciam.*] See Saxon Chron. A.D. 634, and Beda, lib. III. c. 1. Osrîc was the son of Aelfric, brother of Alla, and cousin of Eâdwini.

[3] *Infestante Chedwalla.*] Osrîc and Eânfriδ were both slain by Ceadwalla, king of the Britons; Osrîc in the summer of 634, and Eânfriδ shortly afterwards. During this period the government of the two provinces was usurped by Ceadwalla.

[4] *Oswaldum.*] Osuuald obtained the kingdom of Northumbria in 634. Concerning him, see Beda, lib. III. c. 2, 3. 6.

[5] *Dictitabat.*] *D. E. L. M.*; dictabat, *C.*; de se dictitabat, *A.*

[6] *Cum omnibus copiis delevit.*] Ceadwalla was slain at Dilston,

quantulumcunque exercitum undecunque conflasset, his sermonibus in bellum excitavit, ut aut vincendum sibi commilitones, aut moriendum nossent, nihil de fuga meditantes: exprobrandi pudoris rem ventilari allegans, Anglos cum Britannis tam iniquo Marte confligere, ut contra illos pro salute decertarent, quos ultro pro gloria lacescere consuescent: itaque libertatem audentibus animis et effusis viribus [1]asserant; cæterum, de fugæ impetu memoriam nullam. Quare tam acriter et tanto conflictu utrobique concursum, ut recte dictum sit, illum diem fuisse, quo nunquam [2]Britones tristior, nunquam Anglos afflasset hilarior: adeo alteri, omnibus viribus consumptis, ulterius respirare non ausi; alteri, sacra religione cum regis magnanimitate consentiente, in immensum provecti. Denique ex eo tempore cultus idolorum ad cineres torpuit; et ipse regnum latioribus, quam Edwinus, terminis, citra ullam necem hominum, [3]octo annis [4]quiete coercuit. Hujus regis laudes [5]historia panegyrico prosequitur stilo, quarum nos competentes particulas velut quodam complectemur epilogo. Quantus enim in ejus pectore fidei fervor coaluerit, facile ex hoc animadverteres, quod si quando antistes [6]Aidanus Scottice auditoribus facienda proponeret, et interpres deesset, confestim rex ipse, quamvis indutus chlamydem, vel auro rigentem, vel Tyrios murices

near Hexham, in Northumberland. (Beda, lib. III. c. 1, § 151.) See also Smith's App. xiii.

[1] *Asserant.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; asserunt, *S.*

[2] *Britones.*] *D. E. M.*; Britannos, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Octo.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; septem, *D. M.*—According to Beda, Osuuald reigned nine years, inclusive of the year of Ceadwalla's usurpation.

[4] *Quiete.*] *A. D. E. L.*; cum quiete, *S. C.*

[5] *Historia.*] *E.*; historia Bedæ, *S.*—See Beda, lib. III. c. 2—6.

[6] *Aidanus Scottice.*] Concerning the life of Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, see Beda, lib. III. c. 5, and Acta Sanctorum, August. tom. VI. p. 688.

æstuantem, id munus [1]dignanter corripiens, barbari sermonis involucrum patria lingua expediret. [2]Vulgatum quoque est, quod crebro appositis [3]obsoniis, cum convivæ in cibos dentes acuerent, mentes intenderent, [4]ipse [5]voluptatem frænarit, penuria sua pauperum mercatus gaudia: unde arbitror etiam temporaliter absolutam esse cœlestis sententiæ fidem, quam divinum quondam resultavit oraculum, '[6]Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in seculum seculi.' Nam quod auditor mirari debeat, et inficiari non [7]valeat, dextra illa regalis, tantarum eleemosinarum largitrix, hodieque cum brachio, cute et nervis, incorrupta viget; totum vero corpus reliquum, præter ossa, in cineres dissolutum, communionem mortalitatis non evasit. Et sunt quidem nonnullorum sanctorum corporales exuviæ, nullius omnino labis consciæ. Quapropter æstiment alii, quo examine judicium suum ponderent, ego istud gratius, et evidentiori miraculo divinius esse pronuntio: nam usu etiam pretiosa degenerant, et quicquid videtur rarius prædicatur uberius. Jam vero superfluus essem, si dicere affectarem quam sedulus fuerit preces in altum porrigere, votis cœlos onerare. Adeo est amplior laus ista in Oswaldo quam ut nostra oratione indigeat cumulari. Quando enim [8]rogatus negligeret, [9]qui rebellione per Pendam re-

Death of St. Osuuald, A.D. 642.

[1] *Dignanter.*] *A. D. E. L.*; non aspernanter, *S. C.*

[2] *Vulgatum.*] *C. D. E.*; vulgatissimum, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Obsoniis.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; dapibus, *C.*

[4] *Ipse voluptatem.*] See Beda, lib. III. c. 6.

[5] *Voluptatem.*] *S. C. D. E.*; voluntatem, *A. L.*

[6] *Dispersit . . . seculi.*] Psalm CXII. 9.

[7] *Valeat.*] *A. D. E. L.*; audeat, *S. C.*

[8] *Rogatus.*] *S.*; togatus, *A. C. D. E. L.*

[9] *Qui rebellione per Pendam.*] Osuuald was slain by Penda at Maserfelth, (now Oswestry,) 5th Aug. A.D. 642, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. (Beda, lib. III. c. 9, and Sax. Chron.)

gem Merciorum excitata, cum stipatoribus fusis ipse quoque ferratam silvam in pectore gereret, nec atrocitate vulnerum, nec mortis confinio, potuit argui quin pro animabus fidelium suorum Domino Deo supplicaret? Ita vir in seculo ingentis gloriæ, magnæ apud Deum gratiæ, animam exuens gratiosam, sui posteris profudit memoriam per miraculorum frequentiam: merito. Res est enim non pertrita, sed '[1]corvo rarior albo,' hominem abundare divitiis, et nolle lascivire vitiis. Itaque defuncti brachia, cum manibus et capite, insatiabili [2]victoris ira desecta, et stipiti appensa. Et corpus quidem, ut dixi, totum placido naturæ sinu confotum, in [3]terrenum elementum abiit: brachia vero cum manibus, auctore Deo, [4]et [5]teste veraci historico, inviolata durant. Ea a fratre Oswio apud [6]Bebbanburg, urbem ita vocant Angli, composita scrinio, monstrata miraculo, idem asserit. Quo loci quia opinione fluctuo utrum ad hunc diem serventur, præcipitem affirmationem non emitto: si quid alii historiographi temere sunt professi ipsi viderint; mihi fama vilius constet, ne quicquam nisi absoluta fide dignum pronuntiem. Caput, tunc [7]ab eodem germano Lindisfarni humatum, [8]nunc Dunelmi inter brachia beatissimi Cuthberti teneri aiunt. Ossa reliqui corporis cum regina Ostdritha, uxor Ethelredi regis Merciorum, filia regis Oswi, caritate patrui ducta, Bardenio monasterio suo, quod est in regione Merciorum non longe a Lin-

His relics and miracles.

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[1] *Corvo rarior albo.*] Juv. Sat. VII. lin. 202.

[2] *Victoris.*] *E.* reads 'victoriis.'

[3] *Terrenum.*] *S. D. E.*; terreum, *A. C. L.*

[4] *Et.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[5] *Teste veraci historico.*] Beda, lib. III. c. 6.

[6] *Bebbanburg.*] Bamborough, in Northumberland.

[7] *Ab eodem germano.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; a beato Germano, *C.*

[8] *Nunc Dunelmi . . . aiunt.*] St. Cuthbert is represented as holding the head of Osuuald in his arms. (Sharpe, 53.)

docolina civitate, inferre vellet, iverunt in repulsam monachi [1]parumper, invidentes mortuo quietem ossuum quem oderant vivum, quod super eos bellico jure acceperat regnum: sed intempesta nocte per lucernam de cœlo super reliquias emissam edocti fatuum lenire [2]tumorem, in æquitatem transiere, ultro expostulantes quod ante rejecerant. Frequentabanturque ibi virtutes divinitus, sentiebatque præcellentissimi martyris opem quicunque implorasset languidus. [3]Reviruit ex cadentis sanguine campi cespes, plus solito [4]florens, quo sanatus sonipes, quem posti affixum sinuosis anfractibus ignis vitabundus effugit. Nec vacavit a virtute lavaturæ reliquiarum ejus pulvisculus, quo mentis impos integritati rationis est redditus. Occurrit medelæ qui recentem cruorem capitis imbiberat stipes, quo [5]loto hausit sanitatem desperatus. Diu illud monasterium tanti thesauri conscium claruit habitantium sanctimonia et necessariorum copia; præsertim postquam Ethelredus rex [6]ibi coronam tonsuræ monachice accepit, ubi et mausoleum ejus [7]usque in diem hodiernum visitur. Porro, post multos annos, ossa beatissimi Oswaldi, cum ea loca infestarent barbari, Gloecestram translata: locus iste, [8]canonicos habens, non multo incolitur habitatore. Fuit igitur Oswaldus qui genti suæ primitias sanc-

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[1] *Parumper.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[2] *Tumorem.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; timorem, *S.*

[3] *Reviruit ex cadentis sanguine.*] See Beda, lib. III. c. 9, § 177.

[4] *Florens.*] *C. D. E. M.*; floreus, *A. L.*

[5] *Loto.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; loco, *S. C.*

[6] *Ibi.*] *E.*; ibidem, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[7] *Usque in diem hodiernum.*] *E.*; usque diem hodiernum, *A. L.*; usque hodie, *C. D. M.*

[8] *Canonicos.*] *E.*; before 'canonicos,' *A. C. L.* read 'tunc monachos, nunc;' *D. M.* read 'tunc monachos, non.'

titatis dederit, quippe nullus ante illum Anglus miraculis, quod sciam, viguerit; qui post actam sancte vitam, large dando eleemosinas, crebras in Dei obsequela protelando excubias, postremo zelo Dei ecclesiæ cum gentili committens, ante, quod optabat, effudit spiritum, quam, quod timebat, Christianitatis videret detrimentum. Nec fraudabitur profecto martyrum gloria, qui primo bonæ vitæ intendens, postmodum gloriosæ morti corpus impendens, eorum trivit vestigia; et cumulatiori pene laude, quod illi singuli se singulos, ille secum Deo consecraverit totos Northanhimbros.

DE OSWIO FRATRE SANCTI OSWALDI.

§ 50. Eo igitur humanis rebus exempto, Oswius frater ejus apud Bernicios, [1] Oswinus filius Osrici, [2] de quo superius dixi, apud Deiros, regnum occuparunt: quibus cum primo de provinciarum divisione modeste convenisset, suspenso fœdere, in sua pacifice discessum. Verum, non multo post, per homines, quibus nihil magis cordi erat quam discordias serere, pax incertis pactionibus sæpe ludificata, ultimo penitus abrupta, in ventos abiit; facinus miserabile, fuisse qui regibus [3] concordiam inviderent, nec abstinerent quin eos prælio, quantum in ipsis erat, committerent. Ibi tunc fortuna, multis antea illecebris Oswinum adulata, scorpiacea cauda persequebatur: namque, pro penuria exercitus bello abstinendum ratus, suburbanum rus clanculo concesserat, statimque a suis proditus [4] ab Oswio interemtus

Oswiû, king of Bernicia, A.D. 642.

Oswine, king of Deira, A.D. 643.

Death of Oswine, A.D. 651.

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[1] *Oswinus.*] *C. D. L. M.*; Oswius, *A. E.*

[2] *De quo superius dixi.*] § 49.

[3] *Concordiam.*] *E.*; after 'concordiam' *A. S. C. D. L. M.* read 'sodalitatis.'

[4] *Ab Oswio interemtus est.*] Oswine, king of Deira, was slain by Oswiû of Bernicia on the 20th of August, A.D. 651.

est; vir egregie factus ad emerendam gratiam civium largitione pecuniæ, animæ quoque suæ, ut ferunt, non negligens mentis devotione. Ita Oswius, integri regni compos, nihil non postea molitus est quo existimationem suam purgaret, quo majestatem augeret, atrocis facti offensam probitate posteriorum virtutum imminuens, et primus quidem idemque amplissimus laudum ejus cumulus extat, quod fratrem et avunculum nobiliter ultus, [1] Pendam regem Merciorum, illud vicinorum excidium, illud perduellionum seminarium, exitio dedit; ex quo tempore tam Merciis, quam omnibus pene Anglis, vel ipse præsedit, vel præsidentibus imperavit. Hinc totus ad officia pietatis conversus, ut Dei beneficiis in se confluentibus digna sedulitate responderet, [2] Christianismi infantiam pro nece germani in regno suo palpitantem vivacitate regia erigere, et pleno spiritu animare, contendit; eandemque mox [3] doctrina Scottorum adultam, sed in multis ecclesiasticis observationibus fluctuantem, primo per [4] Angilbertum et Wilfredum, postremo per Theodorum archiepiscopum, canonico statu informavit. [5] De cujus in Angliam adventu princeps Oswio debetur gratia, licet Egbertus rex Cantuariæ pro jure provinciæ multum illius delibet gloriæ, quin et Deo famulantibus frequentia constituens habitacula: hujus quoque boni patriam non reliquit exanguem. Quorum præcipuum monasterium, tunc fœminarum, nunc virorum, ab Eboraco triginta millibus in boreali

Oswiū king of both provinces.

A.D. 655.

Oswiū's regard for religion.

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[1] *Pendam regem Merciorum . . . exitio dedit.*] Penda of Mercia was vanquished and slain by Oswiū 15th Nov. A.D. 655. (Beda, lib. III. c. 24, § 221.)

[2] *Christianismi.*] *E.*; Christiani cultus, *A. C. D. L. M.*

[3] *Doctrina Scottorum.*] See Beda, lib. III. c. 25.

[4] *Angilbertum.*] Bishop of Dorchester. See note [1], p. 42.

[5] *De cujus in Angliam adventu.*] See antea, § 12, note [3], p. 21.

parte situm, antiquo vocabulo Streneshalh, modo Witebi nuncupatur; quod ab insignis religionis fœmina [1] Hilda cœptum, [2] Ethelfleda ejusdem regis filia in regimine succedens magnis fiscalium opum molibus auxit, ubi et patri, [3] post viginti octo annos regni defuncto, funera justa persolvit. Illud cœnobium, sicut et omnia ejusdem regionis, tempore Danicæ [4] vastationis, quam dicemus inferius, deletum, multa sanctorum corpora perdidit; nam [5] et beati Aidani episcopi, et Cheolfridi abbatis, et sanctissimæ [6] viraginis Hildæ, et aliorum plurimorum ossa, sicut in libro quem de antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ nuper edidi locutus sum, tunc Glastoniam translata, et aliorum sanctorum alias nonnulla: nunc mutato nomine, paululum pro tempore restauratum, antiquæ opulentiæ vix tenue præsentat vestigium.

§ 51. [7] Oswio, cui duo erant filii, minor legitime susceptus, reprobato notho, successit, Etheldrithæ uxoris sanctissimæ meritis quam suis commendatior; denique duabus omnino rebus, [8] quas quidem in gestis Anglorum legerim, prædicandus, Ecgfriδ, A.D. 670.

[1] *Hilda.*] See antea, note [1], p. 50.

[2] *Ethelfleda .... funera justa persolvit.*] From this passage it might be inferred that Ethelfleda was abbess of Streaneshalch before the death of Hilda, which took place in the year 680.

[3] *Post viginti octo annos regni defuncto.*] Oswiû died on the 15th February, A.D. 670.

[4] *Vastationis.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; infestationis, *S. C.*

[5] *Et beati ..... locutus sum.*] *D. E. M.* The whole passage is omitted in *A. S. C. L.* with the exception of these words, ' et sanctissimæ viraginis Hildæ et aliorum plurimorum ossa.'

[6] *Viraginis.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; virginis, *D. M.*

[7] *Oswio, cui duo erant filii.*] Oswiû left a legitimate son, Ecgfriδ, and an illegitimate one named Alhfriδ, who were successively kings of Northumbria.

[8] *Quas quidem in gestis Anglorum legerim.*] The two facts here alluded to by Malmesbury are not to be found in any author now extant, to whom the work cited can be referred, unless it be Beda. Ecgfriδ's permission to his queen to take the veil is alluded to by that writer (lib. IV. c. 19, § 310), and Cuthbert's promotion to a bishoprick during this reign is also casually mentioned, § 340.

vel quod dominæ vacare volenti serenus indulserit, vel quod beatum Cuthbertum lachrymis religiosa assentatione profusis in episcopatum promoverit. Cæterum, horret animus meminisse impietatis quam in beatissimum [1] Wilfridum grassatus evomuit, quando, bonitatis illius nauseam concipiens, patriam clarissimo lumine viduavit. Idem in supplices protervus, quo morbo
A.D. 684. nullum tyrannorum carere videas, [2] Hibernienses, genus sane hominum innocens et genuina simplicitate nihil unquam mali moliens, vasta clade protrivit. At, contra, in rebelles ignavus, triumphosque patris eludens, imperium Merciorum amisit, quin et ab eorum rege Ethelredo filio
A.D. 679. Pendæ in [3] pugna fugatus [4] fratrem quoque amisit. Veruntamen hæc postrema juventutis lubrico, in Wilfridum vero commissa episcoporum et [5] uxoris consilio, veritas rerum assignari jubet, præsertim cum Beda, adulari nescius, eum [6] in libro de vita abbatum suorum piissimum et Deo dilectissimum

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[1] *Wilfridum.*] Wilfrið was ordained bishop of York A.D. 665, and expelled from his bishoprick in 677; he returned to England in 679, and was again expelled in 681. He was recalled to Northumberland in 687. In 692 he was again expelled, and retired to Aethilred of Mercia, in which year he administered to the vacant see of Lichfield. He was expelled again in 703; and in the following year, his cause being decided in his favour at Rome, he returned to England. He died A.D. 709. His life has been written by Heddius, and is printed in Gale, vol. III. See also Beda, lib. V. c. 19.

[2] *Hibernienses.*] Consult Beda, lib. IV. c. 26, and Sax. Chron. A.D. 684. See also Ogygia, p. 230, where the time and place of the invasion are specified.

[3] *Pugna.*] *D. E. M.*; bello, *A. S. C.*; fuga, *L.*

[4] *Fratrem quoque amisit.*] Anno regni Ecgfridi nono, conserto gravi prælio inter ipsum et Aedilredum regem Merciorum juxta fluvium Treanta, occisus est Aelfuini frater regis Ecgfridi, juvenis circiter decem et octo annorum, utrique provinciæ multum amabilis. Beda, lib. IV. c. 21. Sax. Chron. A.D. 679.

[5] *Uxoris consilio.*] Irmenburg, the second wife of Ecgfrið, is the person here alluded to; his first wife, Etheldritha, was divorced from him, and became a nun.

[6] *In libro de vita abbatum.*] This work has been edited by Dr. Smith. Folio, 1722.

vocet. Postremo, quintodecimo regni anno, expeditionem in Pictos agens, cum illis in montes abditos consulto cedentibus pervicaciter instaret, [1]cum omnibus fere copiis interiit: pauci fuga lapsi rem domi nunciarunt; quamvis divinus Cuthbertus, pro futurorum conscientia, et iturum retinere temptaverit, et ipsa hora occisionis spiritum e cœlo sibi influentem hauriens, interfectum absens non tacuerit.

Death of Ecgfrið, A.D. 685.

§ 52. Egfridi necem cum insignior ubique fama loqueretur, etiam ad fratris Alfridi aures '[2]anxia præcipiti pervenit epistola penna.' Is quia nothus, ut [3]diximus, erat, factione optimatum, quamvis senior, regno indignus æstimatus, in Hiberniam, seu vi seu indignatione, secesserat. Ibi, et odio germani tutus, et magno otio literis imbutus, omni philosophia composuerat animum. Quocirca, imperii habenis habiliorem æstimantes, qui quondam expulerant ultro expetiverunt; necessitas medelam ad preces refudit. Nec eos ille sua spe frustratus est: [4]nam per decem et novem annos summa pace et gaudio provinciæ præfuit; nihil unquam, præter in persecutione magni Wilfridi, quod livor edax digne carpere posset, admittens. Non tamen iisdem terminis quibus pater et frater regnum tenuit; quod Picti, recenti victoria insolenter abusi, Anglosque longa pace ignaviores aggressi, fines eorum ab aquilone decurtaverant.

Alhfrið, A.D. 685.

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[1] *Cum omnibus fere copiis interiit.*] Ecgfrið was slain on the 20th May, A.D. 685. See Beda, lib. IV. c. 26. Sax. Chron. A.D. 685.

[2] *Anxia . . . . . penna.*] Anxia præcipiti venisset epistola pinna. Juvenal. Sat. IV. lib. I. lin. 149.

[3] *Diximus.*] *C. D. E. M.*; dixi, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Nam per decem et novem annos . . . . præfuit.*] Alhfrið died at Driffield on the 16th May, A.D. 705. Beda (lib. V. c. 18) writes, 'Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCV. Alhfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum defunctus est, anno regni sui vicesimo necdum impleto.'

Osraed, A.D. 705.

§ 53. [1] Habuit successorem filium Osredum, octo annorum puerum, qui annis undecim regnum inumbrans, turpemque vitam sanctimonialium stupris exagitans, tandem cognatorum insidiis cæsus, eandem fortunam in ipsos refudit. Siquidem [2] Kenred duobus, et [3] Osricus undecim annis regnantes, hoc tantum memorabile habuere, quod domini sui, licet merito, ut putabant, occisi, sanguinem luentes, fœdo exitu auras polluere. Meruit sane quo lætior abiret Osricus, multumque, ut gentilis ait, 'aliis jactantior umbris,' quod [4] Chelwulfum Kenredi fratrem vivens sibi successorem adoptaverat. Conscendit igitur tremulum regni culmen Chelwulfus ab Ida septimus, et idoneus ad cætera, et cui non deerat literarum peritia acri animo et alacri studio comparata. Vadatur sermonis mei veritatem Beda, qui eo tempore, quo maxime scaturiebat literatis Britannia, huic potissimum [5] Anglorum historiam elimandam obtulit, eligens nimirum in illo auctoritatem bene dicta roborandi propter imperium et scientiam, perperam dicta emendandi propter ingenium.

Coenred, A.D. 716. Osric, A.D. 718. Ceôluulf, A.D. 729.

DE BEDA.

The Venerable Beda.

§ 54. [6] Cujus anno quarto idem historicus, post multos in sancta ecclesia libros elaboratos, cœles-

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[1] *Habuit successorem filium Osredum.*] This statement agrees with Beda's in lib. v. c. 18; but Heddius (in Vita S. Vilfridi) writes that the throne had been occupied for two months by Eaduulf before Osraed ascended it. He was slain in the year 716.

[2] *Kenred.*] Coenred was the son of Cuthwin.

[3] *Osricus undecim.*] Osric died on the 9th of May, A.D. 729. (Beda, lib. v. c. 23.) He was a son of Alhfrið.

[4] *Chelwulfum . . . adoptaverat.*] According to Beda, (lib. v. c. 23,) Ceôluulf ascended the throne in 729; but according to the Saxon Chronicle in 731, and according to Matth. Westm. in 730.

[5] *Anglorum historiam.*] Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.

[6] *Cujus anno quarto.*] In a hand contemporary with the MS., *L.* reads as a note, 'Anno quarto Celuulfi Anglorum regis, ab Ina septimi, venerabilis Beda presby-

tem patriam, quam diu suspiraverat, ingressus est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis [1]septingentesimo tricesimo quarto, [2]ætatis suæ quinquagesimo nono; vir quem mirari facilius quam digne prædicare possis, quod [3]in extremo natus orbis angulo, doctrinæ corusco, terras omnes perstrinxerit, nam et Britannia, quæ a quibusdam alter orbis appellatur, quod oceano interfusa non multis cosmographis comperta est, habet in remotissima sui plaga locum nativitatis et educationis ejus, Scotiæ propinquum. Plaga olim et suave halantibus monasteriorum floribus dulcis, et urbium a Romanis ædificatarum frequentia renidens; nunc [4]vel antiquo Danorum, vel recenti Northmannorum populatu lugubris, nihil quod animos multum alliciat prætendit. Ibi est Wira, nec egenæ latitudinis, nec segnis gurgitis amnis, qui pelago influus naves serena invectas aura, placido ostii excipit gremio. Cujus utrasque ripas [5]Benedictus quidam ecclesiis insignivit, et

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ter, post multos.' Ceôluulf ascended the throne on the 9th May 729, and Beda died 26th May 735; consequently his death must have taken place in the seventh year of the reign of that monarch.

[1] *Septingentesimo tricesimo quarto.*] See the last note.

[2] *Ætatis suæ quinquagesimo nono.*] Beda was born in the year 674, and died in 735; consequently he must have been in his sixty-first year. It would seem that he had completed his Historia Ecclesiastica in the fifty-ninth year of his age, for he states that 'from the time of receiving the priesthood till the fifty-ninth year of my age, I have been employed for the benefit of myself and my friends in making these extracts,' &c.

[3] *In extremo natus orbis angulo.*] The Venerable Beda was born in the district which then belonged to the Benedictine monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, now forming part of the county of Durham. See Mr. Stevenson's Introduction to the Historia Ecclesiastica, p. vii.

[4] *Vel antiquo Danorum, vel recenti Northmannorum.*] The devastations of the Danes commenced in 793, and were subsequently carried to a great extent during the reigns of Alfred and Ethelred. In the year 1069 the whole region was laid waste by the Conqueror.

[5] *Benedictus.*] Benedict, surnamed Biscop: he came to England with Archbishop Theodore, and was by him made abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, which he soon resigned, and went back to Rome. On his

[1]monasteria ibidem construxit, alterum Petri, alterum Pauli nomine, caritatis et regulæ unione non discrepantia. Hujus industriam et patientiam mirabitur qui leget [2]librum quem Beda composuit de vita ejus et reliquorum abbatum suorum. Industriam, quod copiam librorum advexerit, quod artifices lapidearum ædium et vitrearum fenestrarum primus omnium Angliam asciverit, totum pene [3]ævum transigendo peregrinatus; quippe studio advehendi cognatis aliquod insolitum amor patriæ et voluptas elegantiæ asperos fallebant labores: neque enim ante Benedictum lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia nisi perraro videbantur, neque perspicuitate vitri penetrata lucem ædibus solaris jaciebat radius. Patientiam, quod in possessione cœnobii sancti Augustini apud Cantuariam libenter venienti [4]Adriano cesserit, non reveritus beati Theodori archiepiscopi supercilium, sed veneratus magisterium. Quod, dum per alienas terras cursitat diu absens, subintroductum a monachis Wirensibus, se inconsulto, abbatem æquanimiter, immo magnanimiter, tulerit, domumque reversus parilem illi honorem in consessu in omni porro potestate communicaverit. Quin et ictus paralysi tam valide ut nihil artuum ei esset flexibile, tertium constituerit, quod alter, de quo diximus, eadem non mitius decoqueretur valetudine. Cumque morbus increscens jam

return to England he obtained a considerable quantity of land near the mouth of the Wear, where he built the two monasteries of which he was abbot. He died 12th January 690.

[1] *Monasteria ibidem construxit.*] The monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

[2] *Librum quem Beda composuit de vita ejus et reliquorum abbatum suorum.*] Beda wrote the lives of Benedict Biscop and his successors, Ceolfrith and Huaetberht, abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in two books; published by Sir James Ware in 1664, and by Dr. Smith in 1722.

[3] *Ævum.*] *E.*; after 'ævum,' *A. S. C. D. L. M.* read 'talia.'

[4] *Adriano.*] See antea, note [3], p. 21.

quateret vitalia, socio ad se delato solo nutu valedixit. Sed nec ille præstantius valuit rependere officium, utpote qui propinquiorem tendebat ad exitum, nam ante Benedictum defunctus est. Successit Chelfridus, sub quo res monas- A.D. 690. terii in immensum auctæ. Is, cum diuturno senio vivendi renunciasset desiderio, Romam ire perrexit, senilem animam, ut sperabat, dominis effusurus apostolis; sed, enim voti effectu carens, naturæ debitum [1]apud Lingonis civitatem iniit. A.D. 716. Reliquiæ ossium posterioribus annis ad monasterium suum, deinde Danicæ tempore [2]vastationis, cum ossibus beatæ Hildæ Glastoniam portatæ. Horum abbatum gratiam, quæ per se satis eminet, conspicuus alumnus eorum Beda in splendidiorem excellentiam urget, siquidem scriptum sit, '[3]Gloria patris, filius sapiens;' quod alter eum monachaverit, alter [4]educaverit. Quod quia ipse Beda pro compendio notitiæ subjecit, omnem vitam suam [5]quodam epilogo comprehendens, ipsius verba lector [6]recognoscere licebit, ne meis sermonibus, vel plus vel minus, ipsa novæ formæ procudat necessitas. Ait ergo [7]in fine Ecclesiasticæ Anglorum Historiæ, vir tum in cæteris tum in hoc laudabilis, quod vel quantulamcunque sui cognitionem posteritati non inviderit:

Beda's account of himself.

§ 55. 'Hæc de historia Britanniarum, Domino

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[1] *Apud Lingonis civitatem.*] Langres, in the department of Upper Marne, the capital of Bassigny-François.

[2] *Vastationis.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; infestationis *vel* vastationis, *C.*

[3] *Gloria patris, filius sapiens.*] Filius sapiens lætificat patrem. Prov. x. 1; xv. 20.

[4] *Educaverit.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; eum educaverit, *A. S.*

[5] *Quodam.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; brevi, *A. S.*

[6] *Recognoscere.*] *D. M.*; recognoscat, *A. S. C. L.*; recognoscit, *E.*

[7] *In fine Ecclesiasticæ Anglorum Historiæ.*] Lib. v. c. 24, § 453. Edit. Engl. Hist. Soc. There are a few verbal variations between the text of Malmesbury and Beda.

adjuvante, digessi Beda, famulus Christi et presbyter monasterii [1]apostolorum Petri et Pauli quod est ad [2]Wiremuderan: qui, natus in territorio ejusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum septem, cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reverentissimo abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Chelfrido; [3]cunctumque ex eo tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peragens, omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi, atque inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis, et quotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam, semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere, dulce habui. Nonodecimo autem vitæ meæ anno diaconatum, tricesimo gradum presbyteratus, utrumque per ministerium reverentissimi [4]episcopi Johannis, jubente Chelfrido abbate, suscepi; ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus, usque ad annum ætatis meæ quinquagesimum nonum, meæ meorumque necessitati ex opusculis venerabilium patrum breviter hæc annotare, sive etiam ad formam sensus, et interpretationis eorum, adjicere curavi.'

§ 56. Deinde enumeratis triginta sex voluminibus quæ in septuaginta octo libris edidit, addidit: 'Teque deprecor, bone Jesu, ut cui propitius donasti [5]verba tuæ scientiæ dulciter haurire, dones etiam benignus aliquando ad te fontem omnis scientiæ pervenire, et [6]parere semper ante faciem tuam. [7]Præterea omnes ad quos hæc historia

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[1] *Apostolorum.*] *D. E. M.*; beatorum apostolorum, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Wiremuderan.*] *E.*; Wiremudan, *A. S. L.*; Wiremundam, *C.*; Wirmundisam, *D. M.*

[3] *Cunctumque.*] *A. S. C. L.*; cumque, *E.*; totumque, *D. M.*

[4] *Episcopi Johannis.*] John of Beverley, bishop of Hexham in 686. He was made bishop of York A.D. 705, and died 7th May, in the year 722.

[5] *Verba.*] *A.S.D.E.L.*; dona, *C.*

[6] *Parere.*] *S. C. D. E.*; placere, *A. L.*

[7] *Præterea ... inveniam.*] This paragraph is not placed at the end of the history, but is made to conclude the prologue in the printed copy of Beda.

pervenire potuerit nostræ nationis, legentes sive audientes, suppliciter [1]precor, ut pro meis infirmitatibus et mentis et corporis apud supernam clementiam sæpius intervenire meminerint, et hanc mihi in suis quique provinciis suæ remunerationis vicem rependant, ut qui de singulis provinciis, sive locis sublimioribus, quæ memoratu digna atque incolis grata credideram diligenter annotare curavi, apud omnes fructum piæ intercessionis inveniam.'

Beda invited to Rome, A.D. 701.

§ 57. Deficit hic ingenium, succumbit eloquium, [2]nesciens quid plus laudem, librorum numerositatem, an sermonum sobrietatem: infuderat eum proculdubio non indigno haustu divina sapientia, ut angusto vitæ spatiolo tanta elaboraret volumina. Quid? quod ferunt eum Romam ivisse, ut libros suos vel ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ convenire præsens assereret, vel, si resultarent, apostolico nutu corriperet. [3]Verun-

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[1] *Precor.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; deprecor, *C.*

[2] *Nesciens.*] *D. E.*; nescientis, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Veruntamen quod Romæ fuerit solide non affirmo.*] From what is here stated, the tradition that Beda visited Rome met probably with supporters in Malmesbury's time, though he does not seem to attach great weight to it. The letter of Pope Sergius, however, affords the strongest presumption that Beda was invited over; and the argument of the learned Wilkins assigns a probable reason why the journey was not undertaken: he thinks that the letter was written in the last year of the pontificate of Sergius, (A.D. 701,) and conjectures that the subsequent arrival of messengers in England with tidings of the pontiff's decease occasioned Beda to relinquish his purposed journey. An opinion, however, has been lately expressed that 'the story of Beda's summons to Rome is founded upon an error committed by Malmesbury, who, having met with a letter in which Pope Sergius requested Ceolfrith, abbot of Jarrow, to send one of his monks to Rome, concluded that Beda was that individual, and most unjustifiably inserted his name therein.' In support of this charge it has been alleged that there is still extant (of an earlier date than Malmesbury's work) a copy of this letter, (Tiberius, A. xv.) in which the passage relating to Beda does not occur. In answer to this it may be urged, that Ussher, who had seen and copied the letter from the MS. above alluded to, arrives at no such conclusion. He had, moreover,

tamen quod Romæ fuerit solide non affirmo, sed eum illuc invitatum haud dubie pronuncio; quod hæc epistola clarum faciet, simul et quanti penderit eum Romana [1]sedes ut eum tantopere desideraret.

Pope Sergius's letter to Ceolfrith.

§ 58. 'Sergius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Cheolfrido religioso [2]abbati, [3]salutem. Quibus verbis ac modis clementiam Dei nostri, atque [4]inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, et dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis circa nos ejus beneficiis persolvere, qui in tenebris et umbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiæ perducit!' Et infra: 'Benedictionis intereà gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portitorem tua misit devota religio, libenti et hilari animo, sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse [5]cognosce. Opportunis [6]ergo ac dignis amplectendæ solicitudinis tuæ petitionibus arctissima devotione faventes,

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in his possession an ancient MS. containing the letter entire, from which Malmesbury gives but extracts; and therein Beda's name does occur, though he is not described as presbyter. The only inference drawn by Ussher is, that the omission of Beda's description is not without reason, inasmuch as he had not at that time been ordained priest. Before it can be admitted as a just inference that Malmesbury interpolated the passage in question, it must be shown that Tiberius A. xv. was the identical copy of the letter he used; a conclusion which cannot be fairly drawn, as it is incredible but that other copies of the letter must have been extant when he wrote: and it ought rather to be contended that the one he saw must have contained the passage in dispute; for Malmesbury (whose great integrity is admitted by all writers) several times expressly declares that he declined inserting anything in his history for which he had not the best authority. Moreover, had he been guilty of the interpolation attributed to him, it is improbable that he would have used language so candid as that he has employed.

[1] *Sedes.*] *A. D. E. L.*; curia, *S. C.*

[2] *Abbati.*] Tiberius, A. xv. reads, after 'abbati,' 'presbyteroque.'

[3] *Salutem.*] Tiberius, A. xv. after 'salutem,' reads 'optat.'

[4] *Inenarrabilem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; memorabilem, *C.*

[5] *Cognosce.*] Here is an omission of several lines which occur in Tiberius, A. xv.

[6] *Ergo* has been interlined in Tiberius, A. xv. in a modern hand.

hortamur Deo dilectam [1]religiositatis tuæ [2]bonitatem, ut, quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non [3]sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad [4]conferendum arte literaturæ imbuti, sicut decet devotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris universalis ecclesiæ, obedientem devotionem [5]huic nostræ hortationi non desistas accommodare, sed absque aliqua immoratione religiosum [6]Dei famulum [7]Bedam, venerabilis monasterii tui [8]presbyterum, ad [9]limina apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli, amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere, quem, favente Domino sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire, peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate. Erit [10]enim, ut confidimus, etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum quicquid ecclesiæ [11]generali claruerit [12]per ejus præstantiam impertitum.'

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[1] *Religiositatis tuæ bonitatem.*] Tiberius, A. xv. reads 'bonitatis tuæ religiositatem.'

[2] *Bonitatem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; benivolentiam, *C.*

[3] *Sine.*] *S. C. D. M.*; sui, *A. E. L.*

[4] *Conferendum arte.*] *A. D. E. L.*; conferendam artem, *C.*; conferendum artis literatura, Tiberius, A. xv.

[5] *Huic.*] *A. D. E. L.*; hunc, Tiberius, A. xv.

[6] *Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilis monasterii tui presbyterum.*] In the Cotton MS. (Tiberius, A. xv. fol. 6) the passage occurs thus: 'Dei famulum N. venerabilis tui monasterii.' These words have been read incorrectly, as it seems, 'Dei nostri famulum.' From the fact of the letter N. being found in the Cotton MS. for the name of the person summoned to Rome, it might be inferred that, in the transcript from which the writer copied, the name had been accidentally omitted, and that the passage was not clear:—some word appears wanting to complete the construction of the sentence as it stands in Tib. A. xv.

[7] *Bedam.*] In the margin of Tiberius, A. xv. there is written, by a comparatively modern hand, 'Beda ad Romam vocatur.'

[8] *Presbyterum.*] Interlined in Tiberius, A. xv. by a modern hand, and crossed out.

[9] *Limina.*] Veneranda limina, Tiberius, A. xv.

[10] *Enim.*] Omitted in Tiberius, A. xv.

[11] *Generali.*] After 'generali,' Tiberius, A. xv. reads 'devoto facto collegio.'

[12] *Per ejus præstantiam.*] Præstantissime, Tiberius, A. xv.

Account of Beda resumed.

§ 59. Ita [1]jam celebris erat fama, ut in quæstionibus enodandis indigeret eo sublimitas Romana, nec vero unquam Gallicanus tumor invenit in Anglo, quod argueret merito. Adeo Latinitas omnis ejus fidei et magisterio palmam dedit. Nam et fidei sanæ et incuriosæ, sed dulcis fuit eloquentiæ, in omnibus explanationibus divinarum scripturarum magis illa rimatus quibus lector Dei dilectionem et proximi cohiberet, quam illa quibus vel sales libaret vel linguæ rubiginem limaret. Porro de vitæ illius sanctitate dubitare quenquam arcet illius dicti irrefragabilis veritas quod protulit mundo [2]divæ sophiæ majestas, '[3]In malivolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec inhabitabit in corpore subdito peccatis:' quod de mundana sapientia profecto non dicit, quæ indifferenter hominum cordibus illabitur, et qua creberrime pessimi, nullasque ad extremum diem ponentes metas sceleribus, pollere conspiciuntur, juxta illud Dominicum, '[4]Filii hujus seculi prudentiores filiis lucis in generatione sua sunt;' sed illam sapientiam [5]nominat quæ disciplinæ effugit fictum, et quæ separat se a cogitationibus quæ sunt sine intellectu, intellectu dico bene vivendi et bene dicendi: unde pulcherrime Seneca, in libro [6]De Causis, commemorat Catonem, oratoris officium definientem, dixisse, 'Orator est vir bonus, dicendi peritus.' Emundabat ergo ecclesiasticus orator prius conscientiam, ut sic accederet ad [7]recludendam mysticorum scriptorum intelligentiam. Qui enim fieri potest

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[1] *Jam.*] *A. D. E. L.*; tam, *C.*

[2] *Divæ.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; divinæ, *D. M.*

[3] *In malivolam . . . . peccatis.*] Book of Wisdom I. 4.

[4] *Filii hujus seculi . . . generatione sua sunt.*] Luke XVI. 8.

[5] *Nominat.*] *S. C. D. E.*; nominavit, *L.*

[6] *De Causis.*] Seneca, Controvers. lib. I.

[7] *Recludendam.*] *A. S. E. L.*; enucleandam, *D. M.*

ut serviret vitiis qui medullas intimas hauriret, qui totas cogitationes consumeret, in Scripturarum expositionibus? Nam, ut ipse fatetur [1]in libro tertio super Samuelem, expositiones suæ, si non aliud afferrent lectoribus emolumentum, hoc sibi non mediocriter valerent, quod, dum hæc omni studio agebat, lubricum seculi et inanes cogitationes post tergum ponebat: defæcatus itaque vitiis subibat in interiora velaminis; quæ intus exceperat animo, foras efferens sermone castigato.

Account of Beda.

§ 60. Veruntamen animi ejus pura sanctitas, et sancta puritas, magis [2]tempore obitus [3]excellunt; siquidem continuis septem ebdomadibus stomachi indignatione cibos nauseans, ægroque et angusto suspirio halitum producens adeo ut eum incommoditas lecto prosterneret, non tamen literalium studiorum rejecit operam. Totis enim diebus, præter debitum psalmodiæ pensum, assiduis ad discipulos lectionibus, ruminandisque et absolvendis quæstionum difficultatibus, gravedinem valetudinis decipere, suspensa interim cogitatione, nitebatur. Evangelium quoque Johannis, quod difficultate sui mentes legentium exercet, his diebus, lingua interpretatus Anglica, condescendit minus imbutis Latina: subindeque monebat discipulos, dicens, ‘Discite, filioli, dum vobiscum sum; nescio enim quamdiu subsistam, et si post modicum tollat me Factor meus, et revertatur spiritus meus ad eum qui misit illum, et in hanc vitam venire concessit; diu vixi, bene consuluit mihi Dominus meus in hoc vitæ spatio: cupio jam dissolvi et esse cum Christo.’

[1] *In libro tertio super Samuelem.*] The sentiment is expressed in the prologue to the first book, ‘Expositionis Allegoricæ in Samuelem prophetam,’ p. 208, tom. III.-IV. Bedæ Op. Bas. 1563.

[2] *Tempore.*] *D. E. M.*; proximo tempore, *A. C. L.*; primo tempore, *S.*

[3] *Excellunt.*] *C. D. E.*; excelluit, *A. S. L.*

Account of Beda.

§ 61. Plerumque spe metuque libratis, cum neutrum præponderaret, inferebat, '[1]Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.' 'Non ita inter vos vixi ut pudeat me vivere, sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus;' sanctissimi Ambrosii morientis dictum [2]mutuatus. Felix qui tam secura loquebatur conscientia, ut nec vivere erubesceret, nec mori metueret; hic non reveritus aspectus hominum, illic occultum Dei æquanimiter expectans arbitrium. Sæpe, vi doloris pressus, his exemplis respirabat: 'Aurum probat fornax, et virum justum caminus temptationis.' '[3]Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis.' Prosequebantur dicta lachrymæ, suspiriorumque difficultas. Jam vero noctibus, quia deerant qui docerentur vel verba exciperent, lucubrabat ipse sibi pernox in gratiarum actione et psalmorum cantu, implens sapientissimi viri dictum, ut [4]nunquam minus solus esset quam cum solus esset. Si quando vero sopor irreperet palpebris, qui erat modicus et gravis, confestim excussus turbatusque affectum Deo semper intentum hac voce prodebat: '[5]Suscipe, Domine, servum tuum [6]in bonum; non calumnientur me superbi:' '[7]fac cum servo tuo secundum misericordiam tuam.' Hæc et alia ex reliquiis memoriæ præteritæ ultro ori occurrebant exempla, quæ promebat per temporum intervalla, prout leniebatur infesti morbi angustia. Feria vero tertia ante Ascensionem Domini, invalescente ad extremum incom-

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[1] *Horrendum ..... viventis.*] Hebrews x. 31.

[2] *Mutuatus.*] *C. D. E.*; imitatus, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Non sunt ... in nobis.*] Romans VIII. 18.

[4] *Nunquam minus solus.*] Scipio Africanus was accustomed to say, 'se nunquam minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus; nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset.' Cicero de Offic. lib. III. c. 1.

[5] *Suscipe ... superbi.*] Psalm CXIX. 122.

[6] *In bonum.*] *D. E.*; in bono, *C.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[7] *Fac ... tuam.*] Psalm CXIX. 124.

modo, modicus tumor in pedibus apparuit, haud dubius vicinæ mortis præsagus et index. Tunc, accita congregatione, inunctus et communicatus: osculo cunctis libato, futuram sui memoriam a singulis implorans, nonnullis etiam familiariorem amicitiam emeritis xeniola, quæ in secretis habebat, largitus est. Die vero Ascensionis, cum jam anima, fragilem usum corporis exosa, egredique gestiens palpitaret, contra oratorium in quo consueverat orare, cilicio subjecto, decumbens, illibato sensu et hilari vultu Spiritus Sancti gratiam invitabat, dicens, 'O Rex gloriæ, Domine virtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes cœlos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum Patris in nos Spiritum veritatis:' hac oratione finita [1]supremum efflavit; subsequente et omnium naribus [2]expletis odore, qualem nec cinnama nec balsama spirant, sed paradisiaco, et quem vernalis ubicunque locorum exalat lætitia. Humatus est tunc in eodem monasterio, [3]sed modo cum beato Cuthberto Dunelmi situm fama confirmat.

Account of Beda.

§ 62. Sepulta est cum eo gestorum omnis pene notitia usque ad nostra tempora. Adeo nullus Anglorum studiorum ejus æmulus, nullus gloriarum ejus sequax fuit, qui omissæ monetæ lineam persequeretur: pauci quos æquus amavit Jesus, quamvis literis non ignobiliter informati, tota vita ingratum consumpserunt silentium; alii, vix primis [4]labris illas gustantes, ignavum confoverunt otium. Ita cum semper pigro succederet pigrior,

[1] *Supremum efflavit.*] A letter descriptive of the last moments of Beda, written by one of his pupils present at the historian's death, is printed in Mr. Stevenson's Introduction to Beda, Historia Ecclesiastica.

[2] *Expletis.*] *D. E. M.*; oppletis, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Sed modo . . . fama confirmat.*] Aelfrid, a priest, is reported to have stolen Beda's bones from Jarrow, and deposited them in the cathedral church of Durham, in the early part of the eleventh century.

[4] *Labris.*] *A. S. C. L.*; libris, *D. E. M.*

Account of Beda. multo tempore in tota insula studiorum detepuit fervor. Magnum ignaviæ testimonium dabunt versus epitaphii, pudendi prorsus, et tanti viri mausoleo indigni:

'Presbyter hic Beda requiescit, carne sepultus:
Dona, Christe, animam in cœlis gaudere per ævum;
Daque [1]illum sophiæ debriari fonte, cui jam
Suspiravit ovans, intento semper amore.'

§ 63. Poteritne ulla excusatione hic pudor extenuari, ut nec in eo monasterio, ubi illo vivente totius literaturæ exultabat gymnasium, potuerit inveniri homo qui memoriam ejus formaret nisi exili et miserabili stilo? Sed de hoc satis dictum: nunc quod in manibus erat repetam.

Ceôluulf abdicates, A.D. 737. § 64. Chelwulfus, citra gravitatem Christianam æstimans terrenis negotiis immori, post octo annos regni regem exuens, in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia [2]monachatum accepit: quo loci quanta meritorum gratia conversatus sit, testatur celebris juxta beatum Cuthbertum [3]sepultura, et multa [4]superne demissa miracula.

Eâdberht, A.D. 737. § 65. Providerat ante, ne vacillaret respublica, substituto in regnum [5]Egberto patrui filio; quod ille acceptum, bonorum terens orbitas, viginti annis egregio moderamine coercuit. Habuit fratrem æquivocum, Eboraci archiepiscopum, qui

[1] *Illum.*] *C. D. E. M.*; illi, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Monachatum.*] *D. M.*; monachum, *A. C. E. L.*; monachicum habitum, *S.*—Ceôluulf, having abdicated the throne in favour of his cousin Eâdberht, became a monk in the year 737.

[3] *Sepultura.*] Ceôluulf was buried at Lindisfarne, but the exact year of his death is not known.

[4] *Superne.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; superna, *E.*

[5] *Egberto.*] Simeon of Durham and other authorities call this king Eâdberht. According to Malmesbury he had a brother of the same name, archbishop of York. Ecgberht was ordained bishop of that see A.D. 732. See note [1], p. 94.

et sua prudentia, et germani potentia, [1]sedem illam in genuinum statum reformavit. Namque, quod cuivis [2]gesta Anglorum legenti in promptu est, [3]Paulinus, ejusdem urbis primus antistes, vi hostilitatis loco pulsus, et apud Rovecestram diem obiens, ibidem illud insigne pallii, quod ab Honorio papa susceperat, reliquit. Plures post eum tantæ urbis præsules, simplici episcopatus nomine contenti, nihil altius anhelaverant; at vero Egbertus inthronizatus, animosioris ingenii homo, cogitans quod sicut superbum est si appetas indebita, ita ignavum si debita negligas, pallium multa throni apostolici appellatione reparavit. Hic, omnium liberalium artium armarium, ut ita dicam, et sacrarium fuit, nobilissimamque bibliothecam Eboraci constituit; cujus rei testem idoneum advoco [4]Alcwinum, qui a regibus Angliæ pro pace missus ad Karolum magnum imperatorem, et benigno apud eum fotus hospitio, in [5]epistola ad Eanbaldum, tertio loco Egberti successorem, ait, '[6]Laus et gloria Deo, qui dies meos in prosperitate bona conservavit, ut in exaltatione filii mei carissimi gauderem, qui laboraret vice mea in ecclesia ubi ego nutritus

Passages from Alcuin's Epistles.

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[1] *Sedem illam in genuinum statum reformavit.*] York again became an archiepiscopal see A.D. 735, in consequence of Ecgberht's frequent appeals to Rome.

[2] *Gesta Anglorum legenti.*] Beda, lib. II. § 112, 148, 149.

[3] *Paulinus.*] Paulinus, after his flight from Northumbria, became bishop of Rochester. He died 10th October, A.D. 644. See note [5], p. 39.

[4] *Alcwinum.*] Flaccus Alcuinus, or, as he is often called, Albinus, was a native of Northumbria. He went to France and became the preceptor of Charlemagne, who made him abbot of St. Martin's at Tours, where he died. His works, both prose and verse, have been collected by Duchesne. (Paris, 1617.)

[5] *Epistola ad Eanbaldum, tertio loco Egberti successorem.*] This letter, written in the month of August, A.D. 796, must have been addressed to Eanbald II, as Eanbald I. died 29th July in that year. Eanbald II. was consecrated 14th Aug. 796, and received the pall in the following year.

[6] *Laus et gloria .... reliquit.*] Alcuini Opera; fol. Ratisbonæ, 1777; tom. I. vol. I. p. 63, epist. L.

et educatus fueram, et præesset thesauris sapientiæ in quibus me [1]magister meus dilectus Egbertus archiepiscopus hæredem reliquit.' Item [2]Karolo Augusto: 'Date mihi exquisitiores eruditionis scholasticæ libellos, quales in patria habui per bonam et devotissimam magistri mei Egberti archiepiscopi industriam. Et, si placet sapientiæ vestræ, remittam aliquos ex pueris nostris, qui excipiant inde quæque necessaria, et revehant in Franciam flores Britanniæ, et non sit tantummodo in Eboraca hortus conclusus, sed etiam in Turonica emissiones paradisi.'

Account of Alcuin.

§ 66. Hic est Alcwinus qui, ut dixi, pro pace Franciam missus, ibi apud Karolum, seu terræ amœnitate seu regis humanitate captus, resedit; magnique apud eum habitus imperialem animum, quantum ab aulicis curis vacabat, dialectica, et rhetorica, et etiam astronomia probe composuit. Erat enim omnium Anglorum, quos quidem legerim, post beatum Aldelmum et Bedam, doctissimus, multisque libris ingenii periculum [3]fecit.

§ 67. Sane, quoniam ad id locorum venimus

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[1] *Magister meus dilectus Egbertus archiepiscopus.*] There has been some doubt expressed as to which of Alcuin's masters is alluded to in this letter. Alcuin studied under both Ecgberht and his successor Aethelberht, as the author of his life writes: 'Ecgberto, a°. 766, 13 cal. Dec. mortuo, Alcuinus divino munere Elcbertum seu Aelbertum loco amissi magistrum accepit.' Malmesbury here and elsewhere calls him Egbertus, and identifies him with the archbishop who obtained the restoration of the archiepiscopal see in 735. The similarity of the names, often confounded by the Norman scribes, has probably given rise to the question.

[2] *Karolo Augusto.*] Alc. Op. tom. I. vol. I. p. 52. epist. XXXVIII.

[3] *Fecit.*] *A.E.L.*; after 'fecit,' *S. C. M.* read 'Jacet in Francia apud Sanctum Paulum de Cormarico, quod cœnobium Karolus magnus ejus consilio construxit; unde hodieque quatuor monachorum victus et potus pro ejusdem Alcuini anima quotidianæ infertur eleemosinæ in eadem ecclesia.' The passage occurs in the margin in *D.* written in the same hand. Some authors affirm that Alcuin was buried in the abbey of St. Martin de Tours, where he died 18th April, A.D. 804. St. Paul de Cormarico was a cell to that abbey. (Bouquet, tom. v. p. 765.)

ut Karoli magni mentio ultro se inferret, volo de linea regum Francorum, de qua multa fabulatur antiquitas, veritatem subtexere; nec multum a proposito elongabor, quia progeniem eorum nescire damnum duco scientiæ, cum et confines nobis sint, et ad eos maxime Christianum spectet imperium. Et forte quibusdam non injocundum videbitur si hoc percurrant compendium, quibus magna volumina evolvere non erit otium.

DE LINEA REGUM FRANCORUM.

§ 68. [1]Franci a feritate morum Græco vocabulo dicti, quod, jussu primi Valentiniani imperatoris, Alanos in Mæotidas paludes refugientes ejecerint. Parva gens prius et exilis, incredibile quantum brevi adoleverit decenni vectigalium indulgentia; hoc enim pacto ante bellum salutis discrimen inierant. Ita accedente libertate [2]in immensum aucti, primo [3]maximam partem Ger- *Succession of the kings of France.*

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[1] *Franci a feritate morum Græco vocabulo dicti.*] The author of the Gesta Regum Francorum also pretends that the name of the Franks was given to them by the emperor Valentinian, because they vanquished the Alani, and drove them to the Meotian marshes; this name in the Attic tongue signifying 'feroces.' To excuse this etymology, some suggest that we should read 'Chattica,' that being the language of the Franks. The name of Franks, however, is known in history more than one hundred and twenty years before the time of Valentinian. The sophist Libanius, a writer of the fourth century, states that in his time there was on the Rhine, near the ocean, a nation of Celts so warlike and valiant that they acquired the name of φρακτοὶ, a name that has been corrupted into φραγκοὶ (Franci). The opinion of the most rational critics, however, is, that various people, settled between the Rhine, the Maine, and the Elbe, confederated to protect themselves from the yoke of the Romans, and that they assumed the name of Franks, or Freemen, to show their intention of preserving their freedom. See Bouquet, p. 721. Compare Aimon, Hist. Franc. in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script.

[2] *In immensum aucti.*] *A. S. E.*; jam in immensum aucti, *D. M.*; non immensi aucti, *L.*; multum evecti, *C.*

[3] *Maximam partem Germaniæ.*] The first settlement of the Franks in Germany appears to have been on the borders of the Vistula; they advanced by degrees to the countries bordering on the Rhine, where they established themselves in the fourth century.

maniæ, procedente tempore [1] totas Gallias, occupantes, signa sua comitari coegere: unde Lotharingi et Alamanni, et cæteri Transrhenani populi qui imperatori Teutonicorum subjecti sunt, magis proprie se Francos appellari jubent; et eos quos nos Francos putamus, Galwalas antiquo vocabulo quasi Gallos nuncupant. Quibus et ego assensum commodo, sciens quod Karolus magnus, quem regem Francorum fuisse [2] nemo qui in inficias eat, ea gentilitia lingua usus sit quam Franci Transrhenani terunt. [3] Legenti vitam Karoli in promptu occurrit quod sermo meus a vero non exulat. Anno igitur incarnati Verbi [4] quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto

A.D. 425. Faramond. [5] Franci primum regem habuerunt Faramundum.

Mérovée. Nepos Faramundi fuit [6] Meroveus, a quo omnes post eum [7] reges Merovingi vocati sunt. Eodem

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[1] *Totas Gallias.*] The Franks were established in Gaul during the reign of Honorius: their monarchy was confined to the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine.

[2] *Nemo qui in inficias eat.*] *D. E. L. M.*; nemo qui eat inficias, *C.*; nemo est qui inficias eat, *A. S.*

[3] *Legenti vitam Karoli.*] The life of Charlemagne, written by Eginhardt, who was secretary to that monarch. Script. Franc. Duchesne, tom. II.

[4] *Quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto.*] The supposed establishment of a monarchy in France is usually ascribed to the commencement of the reign of Faramond, A.D. 418; but Clovis may be more justly considered the founder of the French monarchy, A.D. 481.

[5] *Franci primum regem habuerunt Faramundum.*] The foundation of the French monarchy by Faramond, and even his existence, have been justly questioned. Except in a short and suspicious line of the Chronicle of Prosper, (tom. I. p. 638,) the name of Faramond is never mentioned before the seventh century.

[6] *Meroveus.*] He is supposed to have been the son of Clodion, whom he succeeded in the year 447. He died A.D. 456.

[7] *Reges Merovingi vocati sunt.*] *A. E. L.*; reges Francorum, usque ad Pipinum Merovingi vocati sunt, *S. C.*; *D. M.* omit 'Francorum.'—An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great Maraboduus, and has clearly proved that the prince who gave his name to the first race was more ancient than Mérovée. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. XX, pp. 52—90; tom. XXX. pp. 557—587. Gregory of Tours does not mention the Merovingian name; which may be traced, however,

modo et filii regum Anglorum a patribus patronymica sumpserunt: ut filius Edgari, Eadgaring; filius Edmundi, Edmunding, vocentur; et cæteri in hunc modum: communiter vero [1]Athelingi dicuntur. Naturalis ergo lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis, quod de Germania gentes ambæ germinaverint. Feliciter et potenter [2]regnaverunt Merovingi usque ad annum incarnationis Domini sexcentesimum octogesimum septimum. [3]Tunc enim Pipinus, filius Ansegisi, comes palatii apud [4]Transrhenanos factus est. Is, captatis occasionibus quibus ambitum palliaret, dominum suum Theodoricum regem, Merovingorum fæcem, sub jugum misit; et, ut facti leniret infamiam, specie tenus illi regis nomine donato, cuncta intus et foris regebat pro libito. [5]Hujus Pipini genealogia supra

A.D. 687.

Pepin.

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to the beginning of the seventh century as the distinctive appellation of the royal family, and even of the French monarchy of the first line.

[1] *Athelingi dicuntur.*] This epithet seems merely to imply nobility.

[2] *Regnaverunt Merovingi.*] The mayors of the palace of the kings of France began first to usurp the royal authority during the reign of Clovis II. king of Neustria, A.D. 638. Thierri II, being restored to the throne A.D. 673, first obtained the appellation of Fainéant, (which attached to all the kings of France of that race, owing to their subjection to the mayors of the palace,) after he was defeated A.D. 687 by Pepin II, duke of Austrasia, who then became mayor of the palace in Neustria and Bourgogne; Thierri and his successors retaining only the name of king. The final extinction of the dominion of the Merovingians in France, and the commencement of a new line, took place in the year 752.

[3] *Tunc enim Pipinus.*] Pepin, son of Duke Ansegise, having defeated Thierri II, continued to govern the kingdom without assuming the title of king. He died 16th December 714, and was succeeded by his natural son, Charles Martel, who also contented himself with the title of duke until his death, 22d October 741.

[4] *Transrhenanos.*] *D. E. M.*; after 'Transrhenanos,' *A. S. C. L.* read 'Francos.'

[5] *Hujus Pipini genealogia.*] The genealogy of Pepin, deduced from Ansbert the senator and Blithilde, daughter of Clothaire I, is mentioned in many of the French chronicles; but it is considered to be fictitious, and its authority cannot be traced higher than the time of Charlemagne. Malmesbury further follows the

infraque contexitur ita: Ansbertus senator, ex filia Lotharii patris Dagoberti, Blithilde, genuit Arnoldum; Arnoldus genuit [1] sanctum Arnulfum, Metensem episcopum; Arnulfus genuit [2] Flodulfum, Waltchisum, Anschisum; Flodulfus genuit [3] Martinum ducem, quem interfecit [4] Ebroinus; Waltchisus genuit sanctissimum Wandregesilum abbatem; [5] Anschisus dux genuit Ansegisum; Ansegisus genuit Pipinum; filius Pipini fuit [6] Karolus Tudites, quem illi Martellum vocant quod tyrannos per totam Franciam emergentes contuderit, Saracenos Gallias infestantes egregie depulerit. [7] Hic, paternæ sequax sententiæ, reges tenuit in clientela, comitis contentus nomine: [8] reliquit filios duos, Pipinum et Karlomannum. Karlomannus, incertum qua de causa

Charles Martel, A.D. 714.

Carloman, A.D. 747.

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anachronism of some of the chronicles in making Blithilde the daughter of Clothaire II, and sister of Dagobert.

[1] *Sanctum Arnulfum, Metensem episcopum.*] St. Arnoul, considered by some authors as the ancestor of the second race of the kings of France, was chosen bishop of Metz A.D. 614. He was prime minister of Dagobert, king of Austrasia, and died in 641. His life is printed in Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. II. p. 150.

[2] *Flodulfum.*] Clodulfus, (St. Clou,) son of St. Arnoul, was made bishop of Metz 13th April, A.D. 654, and died in 694. His life was written about the ninth century, and is printed in Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. II. p. 1044.

[3] *Martinum ducem.*] Martin, duke of Austrasia, son of St. Clou, bishop of Metz, was slain by Ebroin A.D. 680.

[4] *Ebroinus.*] He was mayor of the palace, and was slain by Ermenfroi A.D. 681.

[5] *Anschisus dux genuit Ansegisum; Ansegisus genuit Pipinum.*] Malmesbury has been betrayed into the error of introducing an additional generation, under a supposition that Anschisus and Ansegisus were distinct persons; whereas Duke Ansegisus, brother of St. Clou, and father of Pepin, was also called Anschisus and Ansigilus. He was slain A.D. 678. See Bouquet, tom. III. p. 306.

[6] *Karolus Tudites, quem illi Martellum vocant.*] The epithet of Martel, which Tudites seems also to imply, was given to him as expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes in battle.

[7] *Hic, paternæ . . . . . nomine.*] See note [3], p. 97.

[8] *Reliquit filios duos.*] Carloman, the eldest son of Charles Martel, succeeded him in Austrasia; and Pepin, his younger son, in Neustria, Bourgogne, and Provence.

seculum relinquens, [1]tonsoratus est in monte Cassino. [2]Pipinus a Stephano [3]papa, successore Zacariæ, apud Sanctum Dionysium in regem Francorum et patricium Romanorum coronatus est; nam imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis jamdudum a solita virtute degenerantibus, nec ullam Italiæ et ecclesiæ Romanæ opem ferentibus, quæ multis annis tyrannidem Longobardorum suspiraverant, idem papa injurias illorum potestati Francorum apploravit. Quapropter Pipinus, Alpibus transcensis, [4]Desiderium regem Longobardorum ita coarctavit ut ablata Romanæ ecclesiæ restitueret, et, ne repeteret, sacramento firmaret. Franciam reversus, post aliquot annos [5]obiit, [6]superstitibus Karolo et Karlomanno. [7]Karlomannus, post biennium, finem

Pepin, A.D. 754.

A.D. 768.

Carloman.

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[1] *Tonsoratus est in monte Cassino.*] Carloman left his estates to his brother Pepin, and retired into Italy, where he built a monastery. In 747 he became a monk in the monastery of Mount Cassin, and died in the year 754.

[2] *Pipinus .... coronatus est.*] In the year 752, Childeric III, last of the Merovingian race, having been declared incapable of governing, Pepin was proclaimed king by an assembly of the states of France, and was consecrated by Boniface, bishop of Mayence. His second consecration by Pope Stephen took place A.D. 754.

[3] *Papa.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[4] *Desiderium ..... ita coarctavit.*] It was Aistolphe, king of the Lombards, and not Desiderius, whom Pepin obliged to restore the towns he had usurped from the Holy See. Upon the death of Aistolphe in the year 756, Desiderius, or Didier, duke of Tuscany, was proclaimed king: he was the last of the native princes of Lombardy, having surrendered his sceptre and his capital to Charlemagne, by whom he was defeated in the year 774.

[5] *Obiit.*] Pepin, first of the second race of the kings of France, called Le Bref from the lowness of his stature, and Le Gros from his shape, died 24th September in the year 768, and was succeeded by his sons Carloman and Charles, of whom the former had for his portion Austrasia, and the latter Neustria, Bourgogne, and Provence.

[6] *Superstitibus.*] *C. E.*; after 'superstitibus,' *A. D. L. M.* read 'liberis;' *S.* 'hæredibus liberis.'

[7] *Karlomannus.*] Carloman died at Samouci en Laonois on the 4th December, A.D. 771.

Charlemagne.

habuit. [1] Karolus, nomen Magni ab effectu sortitus, duplo quam pater habuerat regnum ampliavit; triginta et eo amplius annis simplici nomine regis fastigatus, et ab imperatoria appellatione, quamvis sæpe ab Adriano papa invitaretur, temperans. Verum, eodem apostolico defuncto, cum consanguinei ejus Leonem sanctissimum, qui successerat, plagis in ecclesia beati Petri affecissent, adeo [2] ut linguam mutilarent, et lumina terebrarent, Romam ad reformandum statum ecclesiæ ire maturavit. Ibi in improbos ultionem executus tota hieme resedit; apostolicum, per Dei miraculum plane loquentem et videntem, proprio tribunali restituens. Inter has moras Quirites, collato cum præsule consilio, [3] die Natalis Domini Augustum inopinate acclamant. [4] Quod cognomen, licet invitus ut insuetum admisisset, postea tamen, animositate qua decebat contra imperatores Constantinopolitanos defendens, [5] Lodowico filio hæreditarium contradidit. Ex ejus genere regnavere in illa

Proclaimed emperor, A.D. 800.

Louis le Débonnaire, A.D. 814.

[1] *Karolus*] Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, upon the death of his brother Carloman inherited the whole monarchy.

[2] *Ut linguam mutilarent, et lumina terebrarent.*] Upon the death of Pope Adrian, 25th December, A.D. 795, Leo III. was chosen as his successor, in preference to Adrian's nephew, who employed conspirators to assault and slay the pope during a procession. The assurance of the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been twice deprived by the knife of the assassin, as given by Anastasius, (tom. III. pars 1, pp. 197, 198,) is supported by the credulity of some French annalists; but Eginhardt, and other writers of the same age, are more rational and sincere. The mutilation of Leo took place 25th April, A.D. 799.

[3] *Die Natalis Domini Augustum inopinate acclamant.*] Charlemagne was crowned emperor of the West by Pope Leo III. on Christmas day, in the last year of the eighth century.

[4] *Quod cognomen.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; 'quo cognito,' *E.*, being written after an erasure, and the word 'cognito' in the margin.

[5] *Lodowico filio.*] Charlemagne died at Aix la Chapelle, on the 28th of January, A.D. 814. Several ancient writers, commencing the year either on the 25th of March, or at Easter, place his death in 813. He was succeeded by his son Louis le Débonnaire, also called the Pious.

regione, quæ nunc proprie dicitur Francia, usque ad [1]Hugonem cognomento Capet, a quo descendit [2]modernus Lodowicus. Ex eadem progenie regnarunt in Alemannia et Italia usque ad annum Domini nongentesimum duodecimum. Tunc enim quidam [3]Conradus, rex Teutonicorum, illud imperium arripuit. [4]Hujus nepos fuit Oto maximus, nihil probitatis debens omnibus ante se imperatoribus, ita virtute et gratia mirabilis [5]hæreditatem imperii posteris reliquit suis; nam [6]modernus Henricus ex ejus sanguine lineam trahit.

Hugh Capet, A.D. 987.

A.D. 912.

A.D. 937.

§ 69. Sed ut ad inchoatum revertar: Alcwinus, licet in Francia a Karolo magno monasterio beati Martini prælatus esset, non immemor compatriotarum, imperatorem in amicitia eorum continere, illos crebris epistolis ad bonum incitare. Dictorum ejus hic pleraque intexam, quibus palam fiat quam cito post obitum Bedæ in ejus etiam ecclesia studium librorum emarcuerit, et post mortem Egberti regnum Northanhimbrorum

Account of Alcuin resumed.

[1] *Hugonem cognomento Capet.*] The race of Charlemagne terminated with Louis V, who died on the 22d of June 987. Hugh Capet, son of Hugh le Grand, was then chosen king, and consecrated at Rheims on the 3d July. He died 24th October, A.D. 996.

[2] *Modernus Lodowicus.*] Louis VI, called Louis le Gros, succeeded his father Philippe I, and was consecrated at Orleans 3d August 1108. He died 1st August 1137.

[3] *Conradus.*] The German branch of the family of Charlemagne became extinct on the death of Louis IV, 21st January 912; when the Germans, in a general assembly of the nation, elected Conrad, count of Franconia, emperor. He died 23d December 918.

[4] *Hujus nepos fuit Oto maximus.*] Otho the Great was not grandson of Conrad. He was elected emperor in 937, upon the death of his father Henri l'Oiseleur, who was the son of Otho duke of Saxony.

[5] *Hæreditatem imperii posteris reliquit suis.*] Upon the extinction of the line of Charlemagne, the empire of the West became elective.

[6] *Modernus Henricus.*] *A. E. L.*; after 'Henricus,' *D. M.* read 'rex;' *S. C.* 'gener Henrici regis Angliæ.'—Henry V. was crowned emperor of Germany A.D. 1105. He married Maud, daughter of Henry I. of England, 7th January, A. D. 1114, and died at Utrecht on the 23d May, A.D. 1125.

propter pervicaciam malorum morum pessum ierit.

Passages from his Epistles.

§ 70. [1]Ait ergo ad [2]Wiorenses, apud quos Beda vixerat et obierat, ex obliquo fecisse arguens, quod ne faciant rogat: assuescant pueri astare laudibus superni Regis, non vulpium fodere cavernas, non fugaces leporum sequi cursus; discant nunc scripturas sacras, ut ætate perfecta alios docere possint. '[3]Recogitate nobilissimum [4]nostri temporis magistrum Bedam presbyterum, quale habuit in juventute discendi studium, qualem nunc habet inter homines laudem, et multo majorem apud Deum remunerationis gloriam.' Item ad Eboracenses: '[5]Non pro auri avaritia, testis est mei Cognitor cordis, Franciam veni, nec remansi in ea; sed ecclesiasticæ causa necessitatis.' Item ad Offam regem Merciorum: '[6]Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Karoli regis ad vos venire, et patriam reverti; sed melius mihi visum est propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, inter quos nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere, potest. Ecce loca sancta a paganis vastata, altaria perjuriis fœdata, monasteria adulteriis violata, terra sanguine dominorum et principum fœdata.' Item ad Egel-

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[1] *Ait.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; sit, *E.*

[2] *Wiorenses.*] The monks of Jarrow.

[3] *Recogitate . . . gloriam.*] See Alcuini Opera, tom. I. p. 22, epist. XIII.

[4] *Nostri temporis magistrum.*] From these words Canisius infers that Alcuin was not the pupil of Beda; 'for why,' says he, 'have denied this praise to Beda, and not rather have called him his master than the master of his time?' There appears some weight in the objection. See Alcuin's letters to Eanbald, archbishop of York, and to Charlemagne, where he calls Archbishop Ecgberht 'dilectus magister meus.' See antea, § 65, p. 94.

[5] *Non pro auri . . . necessitatis.*] The letter from which Malmesbury extracted this passage was not known to the editor of Alcuin's works, in 1777.

[6] *Ego paratus . . . principum fœdata.*] See Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 57, epist. XLII.

redum regem, qui tertius post Egbertum regnavit: '[1] Ecce ecclesia sancti Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa, omnibus spoliata ornamentis; locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum; et ubi primum post discessum sancti Paulini ab Eboraco Christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseriæ et calamitatis cœpit initium. Quid significat pluvia sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore, in Eboraca civitate quæ caput totius regni est, in ecclesia [2]beati principis apostolorum vidimus, de borealibus, domus, sereno aere, de [3]summitate tecti minaciter cadere? Nonne potest putari a borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram?' Item [4]Osberto patricio Merciorum: 'Nostrum regnum Northanhimbrorum pene periit propter intestinas dissensiones et fallaces jurationes.' Item ad Adalardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum: '[5] Hoc dico [6]propter flagellum quod nuper accidit partibus insulæ nostræ, quæ prope trecentis et quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. [7]Legitur in libro Gildæ sapientissimi Britonum, quod iidem Britones, propter avaritiam et rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam judicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter

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[1] *Ecce ecclesia ... super terram.*] See Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 20, epist. XII.

[2] *Beati.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; beati Petri, *S.*

[3] *Summitate.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; summo, *S. C.*

[4] *Osberto.*] The extract from the epistle to Osbert is printed in Alcuin's works, from Malmesbury.

[5] *Hoc dico .... dignatus est.*] See Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 15, epist. IX.

[6] *Propter flagellum.*] Alcuin most probably here alludes to the devastations of the Danes, which began A.D. 793.

[7] *Legitur in libro Gildæ sapientissimi Britonum.*] The precise words cited by Alcuin are not to be found in either the 'Historia' or the 'Epistola Gildæ,' as these works at present exist; but the expressions of Gildas, to which Alcuin seems to allude in showing whence resulted the misfortunes of the country, occur in §§ 27, 66 of the 'Epistola.'

luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caveamus hæc eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona quam nobis [1]Deus sua misericordissima pietate [2]perdonare dignatus est.'

§ 71. Planum, ut arbitror, factum est, quantam labem, quantam pestem, oblivio literarum et lubrici mores perditorum hominum Angliæ invexerint: quæ verba, ad cautelam legentium posita, hunc in ista [3]historia locum habeant.

§ 72. [4]Egbertus itaque, fratris in religione æmulus, comamque tonsus, [5]Osulpho filio, illeque, post annum a civibus innocenter cæsus, [6]Molloni locum fecit; is, [7]undecim annis satis impigre regno functus, insidiis Alcredi occubuit. [8]Alcredus decimo regni, quod invaserat, anno cedere a provincialibus compulsus est. [9]Ethelbertus quoque, filius Mollonis, eorum consensu rex levatus, quinto anno ab eisdem expulsus est. Tunc rex [10]Alfwoldus acclamatus, post undecim annos perfidiam provincialium ingemuit, sine culpa trucidatus; quod et celebris apud Haugustaldum sepultura, et divina prætenderunt miracula. Et nepos suus,

Osuulf, A.D. 758.
Mull Aethelwald, A.D. 759.
Alhhred, A.D. 765.
Aethelberht, A.D. 774.
Aelfwald, A.D. 779.

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[1] *Deus.*] *D. E. M.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Perdonare.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; donare, *S. C.*

[3] *Historia.*] *D. E. M.*; historiola, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Egbertus.*] Eâdberht abdicated in the year 758, and became a monk. He died A.D. 768.

[5] *Osulpho.*] Osuulf was murdered on the 24th of July 759.

[6] *Molloni.*] Mull Aethelwald, the paternal uncle of Osuulf, was elected king on the 5th August 759.

[7] *Undecim annis.*] Mull Aethelwald was expelled from Northumberland 30th October, A.D. 765, having completed the sixth year of his reign in the August preceding. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester assign only six years to his reign.

[8] *Alcredus decimo regni.*] Alhhred was driven from the throne A.D. 774.

[9] *Ethelbertus.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L. M.*; *E.* also reads 'vel Adelredus' in the margin.—Aethelberht, or Aethelred, the son of Mull Aethelwald, was banished by Alfwold in 779.

[10] *Alfwoldus.*] Aelfwald was slain on the 23d September, A.D. 789.

filius Alhredi, [1]Osredus, succedens, vixque anno emenso expulsus, regnum Ethelberto, qui et Athelredus dictus est, [2]evacuavit. Is filius Mollonis, qui etiam Athelwoldus vocabatur, fuit; regnumque post duodecim annos exilii recipiens, quatuor annis tenuit; quibus exactis, fatum superiorum effugere non valuit, [3]misere occisus. Quare offensi plures episcopi et optimates a patria [4]fugere: quidam merito plexum affirmant, quod [5]in occisione injusta Osredi consensum suum obligaverit, cui sufficere potuerit quod principatu ejectus sedem illi restituerit. De hujus regni exordio Alcwinus ita memorat: '[6]Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus! Nuper Ethelredus filius Adelwoldi de carcere processit in solium, et de miseria in majestatem; cujus regni novitate detenti sumus ne veniremus ad vos.' De nece ita ad Offam regem Merciorum: '[7]Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra, quod dominus rex Karolus amabiliter et fideliter sæpe locutus est [8]mecum de vobis, et in eo habetis fidelissimum amicum: ideo et vestræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, et per episcopales sedes regni vestri. Similiter et Ethelredo regi et ad suas episcoporum sedes dona direxit; sed heu, proh dolor! donis datis, et epistolis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos, qui de Scotia per vos reversi sunt,

Osred, A.D. 789. Aethelberht restored, A.D. 790; murdered, A.D. 796. Passages from Alcuin.

[1] *Osredus.*] Osred was expelled from his kingdom A.D. 790, and Aethelberht was restored after an exile of twelve years.

[2] *Evacuavit.*] *S. D. E.*; vacuavit, *C. L.*

[3] *Misere occisus.*] Aethelberht was murdered on the 19th April, A.D. 796.

[4] *Fugere.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; refugere, *C.*

[5] *In occisione injusta Osredi consensum suum obligaverit.*] Compare Simeon of Durham, A.D. 790-2.

[6] *Benedictus Deus . . . ad vos.*] The editor of Alcuin's works (1777) had not discovered the letter from which Malmesbury took this extract. See Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 5, epist. II. note (c).

[7] *Sciat veneranda . . . . . . jam fecisset.*] Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 57, epist. XLII.

[8] *Mecum.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

de infidelitate gentis et nece regis. Ita Karolus, retracta donorum largitate, in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam et perversam, et homicidam dominorum suorum, pejorem eam paganis æstimans, ut, nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, et mali machinari, jam fecisset.'

Decline of Northumbria.

§ 73. [1]Post Ethelredum nullus ad regnum ascendere ausus, dum quisque superiorum sibi casum timeret, et otio inglorio tutus victitare, quam ancipiti discrimine pendulus regnare, mallet: plerosque enim regum Northanhimbrorum familiari pene exitio vitam exisse. Ita cessante rectore per triginta tres annos, [2]provincia risui et prædæ finitimis fuit. Siquidem ubi Dani, quos ex verbis Alcwini loca sanctorum populatos fuisse supra ostendimus, domum regressi, cæteris insulæ copiam habitatorumque ignaviam nunciarunt; barbari, raptim copioseque insulam petentes, illas [3]in id tempus partes occupavere. Nam et regem multis annis habuere proprium, qui tamen ad regis West-Saxonum spectaret arbitrium; transactis enim illis triginta tribus annis, hanc etiam regionem cum cæteris obtinuit rex [4]Egbertus, anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo vicesimo septimo, regni sui vicesimo octavo: cujus quia tempus attigimus, jam

Ecgberht, A.D. 827.

[1] *Post Ethelredum nullus ad regnum ascendere ausus.*] After the death of Aethelberht in 796, Oswald, a Northumbrian noble, was chosen to succeed him: he held the throne but twenty-seven days, when he was deposed, and fled to Lindisfarne, where he became abbot. The government then devolved on Earduulf, who was consecrated on the 27th of May. After a few years' reign he was also banished (A.D. 806); but, by the influence of Charlemagne, he was restored to his kingdom A.D. 808. See Simeon of Durham, col. 117, and Eginhardi Annales, in Duchesne, tom. II. p. 255.

[2] *Provincia.*] *D. E. M.*; provincia illa, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *In.*] *D. E. M.*; usque in, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Egbertus, anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo vicesimo septimo, regni sui vicesimo octavo.*] See note [3], p. 60.

nunc promissionis nostræ recordati, de regno Merciorum pauca subjiciemus; quia et placet nobis dicendi parsimonia, et non arridet multa dicendorum materia.

INCIPIT DE REGNO MERCIORUM.

§ 74. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo vicesimo sexto, post mortem Hengistii anno centesimo tricesimo nono, [1] Penda quidam, filius Pibbæ, a Wodenio decimus, stirpe inclytus, bellis industrius, idemque fanaticus et impius, apud Mercios regis nomen præsumpsit, cum jam quinquagenarius frequentibus contra finitimos excursionibus nutrisset audaciam. Itaque arrepto regno æger quiete animus, et qui nesciret quantum scelus esset sociali vincere bello, urbes proximas quatere, compatriotarum fines regum [2] inequitare, prorsus magno tumultu et terrore agere. Quid enim non auderet, qui lumina Britanniæ [3] Edwinum et [4] Oswaldum, reges Northanhimbrorum, [5] Sigebertum, [6] Egricum, [7] Annam, reges Orientalium Anglorum, in quibus generis claritas et vitæ sanctitas conquadrabant, temeritate nefaria extinxit? Chenwalchium quoque West-Saxonum regem, bello bis terque lacessitum, [8] in exilium compulit; quamvis ille merito perfidiæ culpam luerit, qua in Deum, fidem illius abne-

Penda, A.D. 626.

[1] *Penda . . . apud Mercios regis nomen præsumpsit.*] Great obscurity prevails about the early history of Mercia. Henry of Huntingdon considers Crida to have been the founder of that kingdom, about the year 584. Crida died in the year 600, and was succeeded by Wibba, who died A.D. 610. Ceorl was the next in succession, and Penda succeeded him A.D. 626.

[2] *Inequitare.*] *E. C. L.*; inquietare, *S. D.*

[3] *Edwinum.*] See note [4], p. 69.

[4] *Oswaldum.*] See note [9], p. 72.

[5] *Sigebertum.*] Sigiberht was slain A.D. 635.

[6] *Egricum.*] *S. C. E.*; Egfridum, *A. D. L. M.*—Egrîc was slain A.D. 635.

[7] *Annam.*] Anna was slain A.D. 654.

[8] *In exilium compulit.*] See note [5], p. 30.

gando, et in ipsum Pendam, [1]sororem ejus repudiando, peccaverat. Jam vero onerosum dictu est quod omnibus occasionibus cædium inhians, et velut corvus ad nidorem cadaveris advolans, [2]ultro [3]Chedwallæ in auxilium accurrerit, et ad recuperandum regnum magno emolumento fuerit. Ita per triginta annos in cognatos grassatus, nihil adversus exteras gentes memorandum commisit. Sed invenit tandem effrænis [4]cupiditas idoneum meritis finem; siquidem ab Oswio, qui Oswaldo fratri successerat, magis per Dei virtutem quam per manum militarem cum auxiliis fusus, [5]infernalium animarum numerum auxit. Habuit ex regina [6]Kineswitha filios, [7]Wedam, Wulferium, Ethelredum, Merewaldum, Mercelinum; filias [8]duas Kineburgam et Kineswitham, ambas sancta continentia præcellentes. Ita parens, perpetuo in Deum rebellis, sanctissimos cœlo fructus effudit.

Death of Penda, A.D. 655.

Peada, A.D. 656.

§ 75. Successit illi in parte regni Weda filius, Oswii dono Australibus Merciis prælatus: strenuus ephœbus, et ejusdem Oswii, etiam patre vivente, [9]gener; nam filiam ejus ea conditione acceperat, ut Christianitatem amplectens, idolis

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[1] *Sororem ejus repudiando.*] See antea, § 19; and Beda, lib. III. c. 7, § 169.

[2] *Ultro.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[3] *Chedwallæ.*] Penda joined Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, and defeated Eädwini of Northumberland, at Hatfield, on the 12th of October, A.D. 633. See note [4], p. 69.

[4] *Cupiditas.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; 'cupiditas *vel* temeritas,' *C.*

[5] *Infernalium animarum numerum auxit.*] See note [1], p. 76.

[6] *Kineswitha.*] See Beda, lib. III. c. 24, and Smith's note on Cynuise.

[7] *Wedam.*] The son and successor of Penda, in Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, and other authorities, is called Peada. He was advanced to the government of the South Mercians by his kinsman, Oswiû, A.D. 656, and slain in the spring of the following year.

[8] *Duas.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; suas, *E.*

[9] *Gener.*] Peada married Alchfleda, natural daughter of Oswiû, and was by her intrigues betrayed, A.D. 657.

abrenunciaret: cujus fidei participem provinciam suam, arridente regni serenitate, socero suffragante, facere procurasset, nisi tam læta principia mors, per insidias uxoris, ut dicitur, festinata, A.D. 657. succideret. [1]Tunc regnum Oswius suscepit, quod sibi, et victoriæ in patrem, et affinitatis jure in filium, competere videbatur. Sed animositas provincialium [2]non ultra triennium potuit ferre regnantem; expulsis enim ejus ducibus, [3]Wulferoque Pendæ filio in omen regni acclamato, libertatem recepit.

§ 76. Wulferus, ne spem civium falleret, sedulo satagere, magnis et animi et corporis viribus, utilem se principem ostentare: denique Christianitatem vix in regno suo palpitantem, et per fratrem initiatam, favore suo enixissime juvit. Primis fere annis a rege West-Saxonum graviter afflictus, [4]sequentibus consilii vivacitate injuriam propulsans, etiam ipsum Wehtæ insulæ dominio mutilavit; eandemque, ritus sacrilegos adhuc anhelantem, ad rectum tramitem inflectens, non multo post regi Australium Saxonum Ethelwalkio, quem in baptismo susceperat, gratia fidei dedit. Verum enimvero hæc, et quæcunque ejus bona, inficit et deprimit gravis simoniæ nota, quod primus regum Anglorum sacrum episcopatum Londoniæ [5]cuidam Winæ ambitioso venditarit. Habuit in matrimonio filiam Ercom-

Wulfheri, A.D. 657.

A.D. 661.

A.D. 666.

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[1] *Tunc regnum Oswius suscepit.*] After Penda was vanquished by Oswiû, the kingdom of Mercia fell into his hands; a portion of which he bestowed upon Peada, after whose death it reverted to Oswiû.

[2] *Non ultra triennium.*] See Beda, lib. III. c. 24, § 224.

[3] *Wulferoque.*] Upon the expulsion of Oswiû from Mercia, Wulfheri succeeded to that kingdom, A.D. 657.

[4] *Sequentibus . . . Wehtæ insulæ dominio mutilavit.*] Wulfheri defeated Cynewealh, king of Wessex, A.D. 661; and bestowed the isle of Wight upon Aethiluualh of Sussex, for whom he had stood in baptism. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 661.)

[5] *Cuidam Winæ.*] Wini, bishop

berti, regis Cantuariorum, Ermenhildam; et ex ea genuit Kenredum, et Waraburgam, virginem sanctissimam, quæ Cestræ jacet. Frater ejus, Merewaldus, Ermenburgam, filiam Ermenredi fratris ejusdem Ercomberti, uxorem habuit: suscepitque ex ea filias, Milburgam, quæ Weneloc, et Mildritham, quæ Cantiæ in monasterio sancti Augustini, requiescunt, et Mildritham; et filium Merefinnum. Kineburgam, Pendæ filiam, Alfridus rex Northanhimbrorum duxit uxorem; quæ postmodum, carnali copula fastidita, sanctimonialem habitum suscepit in monasterio quod fratres sui Wulferus et Æthelredus construxerant.

§ 77. Vulfero post [1] decem et novem annos defuncto, regnavit frater ejus [2] Ethelredus, animi religione, quam pugnandi exercitatione, celebrior: denique, una et ipsa illustri [3] expeditione in Cantiam contentus ostendisse virtutem, reliqua vita otio inserviit; nisi quod [4] regem Northanhimbrorum Egfridum, metas regni transilientem, pugna adortus, domum redire admonuerit, Elwino fratre cæso. [5] Hanc sane cædem propensiori consilio, beato Theodoro archiepiscopo

Aethilred, A.D. 675.

A.D. 676.

A.D. 679.

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of Winchester, was driven from his see A.D. 666, and in that year purchased the bishoprick of London from King Wulfheri. See Beda, lib. III. c. 7, § 170.

[1] *Decem et novem.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; viginti, *D. M.*—According to Beda, (lib. v. c. 24, § 452,) Wulfheri died A.D. 675, after a reign of seventeen years.

[2] *Ethelredus.*] Aethilred succeeded his brother A.D. 675.

[3] *Expeditione in Cantiam.*] Aethilred wasted Kent in the year 676. (Beda, lib. v. c. 24, § 452, and Sax. Chron. A.D. 676.)

[4] *Regem Northanhimbrorum Egfridum ... Elwino fratre cæso.*] See note [4], p. 78.

[5] *Hanc sane cædem ... redemit.*] That is, he paid the weregild, which was a pecuniary mulct for killing a man; one moiety of which went to the public purse, and the other to the relations of the deceased. The were of every man, from the prince to the slave, was established by law. The legal compensation paid to King Ini by the Kentish men for the death of Mull was, according to the Saxon Chronicle, no less a sum than thirty thousand pounds. See note [3], p. 48.

satagente, congestis pecuniæ talentis apud Egfridum redemit. Post hæc, [1]regni anno tricesimo in Bardenia regulariter tonsus, primo in monachum, mox in abbatem, alteratus est. Hic est qui, contemporaneus Inæ regis West-Saxonum, [2]privilegium quod sanctus Aldelmus a Roma, ut prædiximus, attulit, sua quoque auctoritate roboravit. Regis ejusdem Northanhimbrorum Egfridi Ostgidam sororem habuit uxorem, ex qua filium Ceolredum suscepit. **Aethilred abdicates, A.D. 704.**

§ 78. Statuit sibi successorem Kenredum, filium fratris Wulferii, qui pietate in Deum, probitate in patriam, perinsignis, magna morum sinceritate vitam cucurrit, [3]quintoque regni anno Romam ire pergens, reliquum temporis illic religiose complevit, maxime miserando exitu militis compunctus; qui, [4]ut Beda refert, cum confiteri scelera sua sanus superbisset, in mortis janua constitutus, aperte vidit dæmones auctores ad supplicia, quibus animum indulserat blandientibus ad scelera. **Côenraed, A.D. 704.** **A.D. 709.**

§ 79. Post illum regnavit [5]Chelredus, patrui sui Ethelredi filius, sicut virtute contra [6]Inam mirabilis, ita immatura morte miserabilis; siquidem, non [7]octo annos regno satisfaciens, Lichefeldæ conditus est, relicto [8]Ethelbaldo hærede, **Ceôlraed, A.D. 709.** **Aethilbald, A.D. 716;**

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[1] *Regni anno tricesimo in Bardenia regulariter tonsus.*] Aethilred abdicated, and entered into a monastic life at Bardney, A.D. 704, and was succeeded by his nephew Côenraed.

[2] *Privilegium quod sanctus Aldelmus a Roma, ut prædiximus, attulit.*] See antea, note [10], pp. 48-9.

[3] *Quintoque regni anno Romam ire pergens.*] Côenraed's abdication and journey to Rome took place A.D. 709.

[4] *Ut Beda refert.*] Beda, Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 13.

[5] *Chelredus.*] Ceôlraed, the son of Aethilred, succeeded his cousin A.D. 709. (Beda, lib. v. c. 19, § 412.)

[6] *Inam.*] *S. C. E.*; viam, *A. L.*; vitia, *D. M.*

[7] *Octo.*] *E.*; ultra octo, *A. S. C. D. L.*—Ceôlraed died A.D. 716. (Beda, lib. v. c. 24, § 452.)

[8] *Ethelbaldo . . . Alwio fratre.*] Aethilbald came to the throne A.D. 716. In the Saxon Chronicle he is called the son of Alwy.

pronepote Pendæ ex Alwio fratre. Hic alta pace et multo tempore, id est, quadraginta uno annis, rerum perfunctus, et novissime [1]a subjectis occisus, fortunæ rotam volvit: auctor necis ejus [2]Bernredus nihil memorandum dedit, nisi quod, mox ab Offa necatus, dignum finem insidiarum tulit. Huic Ethelbaldo [3]Bonifacius archiepiscopus Mogontiacensis, natione Anglus, qui postea martyrio coronatus est, misit epistolam, [4]cujus hic partem subdam, ut videatur quam libere arguat vitia jam in gente Anglorum inolevisse, quæ Alcwinus timebat ventura esse. Simul et erit documentum ingens, in ostensis mortibus quorundam regum, quam districte Deus reos puniat, quos diu librata ira expectat.

slain by Beornraed, who is expelled by Offa, A.D. 757.

Epistle of Boniface to Aethilbald.

§ 80. 'Domino carissimo, et in Christi amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo, Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius archiepiscopus, legatus Germanicus Romanæ ecclesiæ, perpetuam in Christo caritatis salutem. Confitemur coram Deo, quia, quando prosperitatem vestram et fidem et bona opera audimus, lætamur; [5]quando aliquid adversum, vel in eventu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum, de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audivimus enim quod, eleemosinis intentus, furta et rapinas prohibes, et pacem diligis, et defensor viduarum et pauperum es; et inde Deo gratias

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[1] *A subjectis occisus.*] Aethilbald was slain at Seckington, in Warwickshire, A.D. 757, by Beornraed, who thereupon usurped the throne.

[2] *Bernredus.*] Beornraed was dethroned and slain by Offa A.D. 757.

[3] *Bonifacius archiepiscopus Mogontiacensis.*] Boniface, whose original name was Winfrith, archbishop of Mayence, designated as the Apostle of the Germans, suffered martyrdom in Frisia, 5th June, A.D. 755. He addressed his admonitory epistle to Aethilbald in the year 745.

[4] *Cujus hic partem subdam.*] The whole of this epistle is to be found in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 87; and in Spelm. Conc. vol. I. p. 232.

[5] *Quando.*] *D. E. M.*; quando autem, *A. S. C. L.*

agimus. Quod vero legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxuria et in adulterio etiam cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile et damnabile; nam et famam gloriæ vestræ coram Deo et hominibus confundit, et inter idololatras constituit, quia templum Dei violasti. Quapropter, fili carissime, [1]pœnite et memorare quam turpe sit, ut tu, qui multis gentibus dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus sis libidinis servus. Audivimus præterea quod optimates pene omnes gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas uxores deserant, et adulteras et sanctimoniales constuprent; quod, quam sit peregrinum ab honestate, doceat vos alienæ gentis institutio: nam in antiqua Saxonia, ubi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo in paterna domo, vel maritata sub conjuge, fuerit adulterata, manu propria strangulatam cremant, et supra fossam sepultæ corruptorem suspendunt; aut, cingulo tenus vestibus abscissis, flagellant eam castæ matronæ et cultellis pungunt, et de villa in villam missæ occurrunt novæ flagellatrices, donec interimant. Insuper et [2]Winedi, quod est fœdissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem; ut mulier, viro mortuo, se in rogo cremati pariter arsura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles, Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum castimoniæ habent, quid tibi convenit, fili carissime, qui Christianus et rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ; parce multitudini populi tuo pereuntis exemplo, de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende et illud: quod si gens Anglorum, sicut

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[1] *Pœnite.*] *A. C. E. L.*; pœniteat te, *S.*; pœnitere, *D. M.*

[2] *Winedi.*] The Winedi were seated on the Vistula, near the Baltic. Cod. Cæsar. likewise reads 'Winedi,' but Wilkins 'apud Persas.'

in Francia et Italia, et ab ipsis paganis nobis improperatur, spretis legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria defluit, nascitura ex tali commixtione sit gens ignava et Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam pessundet; sicut Burgundionibus et Provincialibus et Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestarunt propter peccata præterita. Præterea nunciatum est nobis, quod, multa privilegia ecclesiarum et monasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces [1]tuo exemplo provoces. Sed recogita, quæso, quam terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit ejus culpæ conscios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Chelredum [2]prædecessorem, stupratorem sanctimonialium, et ecclesiasticorum privilegiorum fractorem, splendide cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus malignus arripuit; et sine confessione et viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti, et legem Dei detestanti, animam extorsit. Osredum quoque, regem Deirorum et Berniciorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænem egit, ut regnum et juvenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. [3]Karolus quoque, princeps Francorum, monasteriorum multorum eversor, et ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in usus proprios commutator, longa torsione et verenda morte [4]consumptus est.

§ 81. ‘ Quapropter, fili carissime, paternis et subnixis precibus deprecamur ut non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinem tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim bono regi salubrius quam si talia commissa, cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur; quia per Salomonem dicitur, “[5]Qui diligit disciplinam, dili-

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[1] *Tuo.*] *D. E. M.*; tuos, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Prædecessorem.*] *C. D. E. M.*; prædecessorem tuum, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Karolus.*] Charles Martel.

[4] *Consumptus est.*] *E.*; after ‘est,’ *A.S.C.D.L.* read ‘Et infra.’

[5] *Qui diligit.*] Prov. XII. 1.

git sapientiam." Ideo, fili carissime, ostendentes consilium justum, contestamur et obsecramus per viventem Deum, et per filium ejus Jesum Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva sit vita præsens et quam brevis, et quam momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis, et quam ignominiosum sit ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere, et præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas, et in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celsitudinem tuam, et in bonis moribus proficere, optamus.'

Boniface writes also to Archbishop Cuthbert.

§ 82. Hujus epistolæ competentes particulas huic libello pro rerum notitia insui, partim auctoris verbis, partim meis, longas sententias, ut videbatur, abbrevians: cujus facti non injuste veniam paciscar, quia ad historiæ ordinem festinantibus velocitate dictionis consulendum erat. Porro misit idem Bonifacius [1] Cuthberto archiepiscopo ejusdem tenoris epistolam, hoc adjiciens, ut clericos et sanctimoniales de tenuitate et pompa vestium argueret. Præterea, ne miraretur quod alienum negotium ageret, cum sua nihil interesset quomodo et quibus moribus Anglorum gens viveret, sciret se a Gregorio papa tertio sacramento astrictum ne conterminarum gentium mores apostolicæ notitiæ subtraheret; quapropter, blandis admonitionibus non succedentibus, acturum se ne hujusmodi vitia papam laterent. Sane de tenuitate vestium clericalium [2] Alcwinus Adelardum archiepiscopum, successorem Cuthberti, oblique castigat,

[1] *Cuthberto archiepiscopo .... epistolam.*] The letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, is printed in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 90; and in Spelm. Conc. vol. I. p. 237.

[2] *Alcwinus.*] See Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 84, epist. LXIII, note (b).

monens, ut cum Romam vadens Karolum magnum imperatorem, nepotem Karoli de quo superius Bonifacius locutus est, visitaret, non adduceret clericos vel monachos versicoloribus et pompaticis vestibus indutos, quod non solerent Francorum clerici nisi religiosis vestibus amiciri.

Synod of Clofesho, A.D. 747.

§ 83. Nec inanes esse potuere tanti viri epistolæ, quas ille legationis [1]suæ, et compatriotarum amoris intuitu, vigilatis sensibus emittebat. Namque et Cuthbertus archiepiscopus et rex Ethelbaldus concilium coegere, emendaturi superflua quæ ille increpasset. [2]Cujus synodi actionem, multo gyro verborum volutatam, nunc supersedeo intexere, quia, ut opinor, convenientius [3]alium laboris nostri locum [4]occupabit, cum ad [5]recensionem episcoporum ventum fuerit; sed quia regum res in manu habemus, scriptum Ethelbaldi, devotionis ejus index, [6]quod in eodem concilio factum est, subnectam.

King Aethilbald's charter, A.D. 749.

§ 84. '[7]Plerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilio-

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[1] *Suæ, et.*] *S. C. D. E.*; after 'suæ,' *A.* reads 'memor,' and omits 'et;' *L.* omits 'et' after 'suæ.'

[2] *Cujus synodi actionem.*] See Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 94. Malmesbury (De Gestis Pontif.) places this synod in the year 747; the MS. of Florence of Worcester (in Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford) in the year 748. King Aethilbald's charter, said by Malmesbury to have been granted at this council, is dated in 749, in the thirty-third year of Aethilbald's reign. If, therefore, the synod of Clofesho was held in 747, as the best authorities affirm, Aethilbald's charter, which is, moreover, dated from Godmundeslaech, could not have been granted in that council. Aethilbald confirmed the privilege of Wihtraed of Kent in the council of Clofesho, holden A.D. 742, which may have misled Malmesbury.

[3] *Alium laboris nostri locum.*] See Malmes. De Gestis Pontific. lib. I; De Archiepiscopis Dorobernensibus. Script. post Bedam; Lond. 1596, p. 112.

[4] *Occupabit.*] *E.*; occupabunt, *A. S. D. L.*; obtinebunt, *C.*

[5] *Recensionem.*] *S. C.*; recensitionem, *D. E. L.*

[6] *Quod in eodem concilio factum est.*] See supra, note [2].

[7] *Plerumque . . . Deo serviant.*] The whole of Aethilbald's charter, of which this is but an extract, is printed in Cod. Dip. Ævi Saxon. tom. I. p. 119, No. XCIX.

que roborata fuerint, fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur; nisi auctoritate literarum, et testamento chirographorum, æternæ memoriæ inserta sint. Quapropter ego Ethelbaldus, rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ, et remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse [1]providi ut eam per bona opera liberam efficerem ab omni vinculo [2]peccatorum. Dum enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptra regiminis largitus est, ideo libenter ei ex eo quod dedit retribuo. Hujus rei gratia [3]hanc donationem me vivente concedo, ut omnia monasteria et ecclesiæ regni mei a publicis vectigalibus, et operibus, et oneribus, absolvantur; nisi instructionibus arcium vel pontium, quæ nulli unquam relaxari possunt. Præterea habeant famuli [4]Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum et agrorum, et in captura piscium; nec munuscula vel regi vel principibus præbeant, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo serviant,' et cætera.

§ 85. Bonifacio successit [5]Lullus, et ipse natione Anglus, de cujus sanctitate [6]et vita beati [7]Goaris loquitur, et hi versus, quos jam inde a pueritia memini me audisse, protestantur: Lullus succeeds Boniface, A.D. 755.

Antistes Lullus, quo non est sanctior ullus:
Pollens divina, tribuente Deo, medicina
Occurrit morbis, ut totus prædicat orbis.

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[1] *Providi.*] *D.E.M.*; prævidi, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Peccatorum.*] *S. C. D. E.*; delictorum, *A. L.*

[3] *Hanc.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[4] *Dei.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[5] *Lullus.*] Lullus was appointed by Boniface his successor in the see of Mayence A.D. 755.

[6] *Et vita.*] *C. D. E. M.*; in vita, *A. L.*

[7] *Goaris.*] *C. D. L. M.*; after 'Goaris' *A.* reads 'scriptor.' See the life of St. Goar, Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. II. p. 276.

Offa, A.D. 757.

§ 86. Veruntamen, ut historiam repetam, successit Ethelbaldo [1]Offa, quinto genu Pendæ abnepos, vir ingentis animi, et qui omnia quæ mente concepisset efficere proponeret, regnavitque anno uno minus quadraginta. Hujus gesta cum considero, animus hæret in dubio utrum probem an improbem. Ita in uno eodemque homine modo virtutibus se vitia palliabant, modo virtutes vitiis succedebant, ut ambigeres '[2]quo teneres nodo mutantem Protea vultus;' singulorum documenta sermo percurret. [3]Cum rege West-Saxonum Kinewulfo aperto marte congressus palmam leviter obtinuit, quamvis esset ille bellator non ignobilis. Idem, cum magis sibi dolo æstimaret successurum,[4]regem Ethelbrihtum, magnarum promissionum lenociniis ad se accitum, et intra palatium suum fraudulentis assentationibus delinitum, inopinate capite spoliari fecit, regnumque Orientalium Anglorum, quod ille tenuerat, indebite pervasit.

A.D. 777.

A.D. 793.

Offa founds the monastery of St. Alban's, A.D. 793;

§ 87. [5]Reliquias beati Albani, ad illud tempus obscure reconditas, et reverenter elevari, et in scrinio, quantum regia magnanimitas poterat, gemmis et auro decorato componi præcepit; basilica pulcherrimi operis ibi ædificata, et monachorum congregatione adunata. Idemque in Deum pervicax, [6]sedem archiepiscopatus, olim

[1] *Offa.*] Offa, having expelled Beornraed, succeeded, by general consent of the kingdom, A.D. 757.

[2] *Quo teneres nodo mutantem Protea vultus.*] Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo? Hor. lib. I. Ep. 1, lin. 90.

[3] *Cum rege West-Saxonum Kinewulfo.*] See note [8], p. 57.

[4] *Regem Ethelbrihtum . . . . . . capite spoliari fecit.*] Aethelberht, king of East Anglia, was put to death by Offa A.D. 793.

[5] *Reliquias beati Albani.*] In the year 793, a monastery was commenced by Offa in honour of St. Alban, whose relics he caused to be removed thither, five hundred and seven years after St. Alban's death. See the life of Offa annexed to the edition of Matthew Paris. Lond. 1640.

[6] *Sedem archiepiscopatus . . . . in Lichefeldam.*] Before the death of Jaenberht, or, as he is often miscalled, Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 791, King Offa

Cantuariæ fundatam, in Lichefeldam transferre conatus est, invidens scilicet Cantuaritis archiepiscopatus fastigium. Quapropter Lanbrihtum archiepiscopum, multis sudoribus fatigatum, crebraque sedis apostolicæ et nova et vetera edicta proferentem, tandem omnium prædiorum quæ intra terminos suos erant, et episcopatuum ditione, privavit. Per Adrianum igitur apostolicum, quem verisimilibus assertionibus diu fatigaverat, (sicut occupatis animis multa illicita subtrahi et subripi possunt,) obtinuit ut archiepiscopatus Merciorum apud Lichefeldam esset, omnesque pontifices Merciorum provinciæ illi subjicerentur, quorum hæc fuere nomina; Denebertus Wigornensis episcopus, Werenbertus Legacestrensis, Edulfus Sidnacestrensis, Wulheard Herefordensis; et episcopi Orientalium Anglorum, Alheard Helmanensis, Titfrid Dammucensis; vocabatur autem episcopus Lichefeldensis Aldulfus. Remanserunt vero archiepiscopo Cantuariensi episcopi quatuor; Londoniensis, Wintoniensis, Rofensis, Selesiensis. Horum episcopatuum quidam adhuc manent, [1]quidam alias translati, quidam venali ambitu alteris uniti; nam Legacestrensis, et Sidnacestrensis, et Dammucensis (incertum quo eventu) hodie non extant. Nec porro in his rapacitas Offæ stetit, sed multarum ecclesiarum, inter quæ Malmesbiriensis, prædia publicus expilator abrasit: sed non diu canonicas regulas hæc temeravit iniquitas; namque mox successor Offæ Kenulfus, nulli ante se regi potentia vel reli-

and converts Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see, A.D. 790.

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obtained from Pope Adrian permission to erect Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see. Jaenberht's contest with Offa on that subject probably happened in the year 785, as in that year the Saxon Chronicle states he was deprived of a part of his see. See also Florence of Worcester, an. 785, and Vit. Offæ, p. 21.

[1] *Quidam alias translati.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

gione impar, missa Leoni Adriani successori epistola, Æthelardum successorem Lanbrihti in pristinam dignitatem sublevavit; unde [1]Albinus in epistola ad eundem Æthelardum: '[2]Audita prosperitate itineris vestri, et reversionis in patriam, et quomodo ab apostolico suscepti fuistis, toto cordis affectu gratias egi Domino Deo nostro, qui magno clementiæ dono prospero itinere vestram viam direxit, et dedit vobis gratiam in conspectu apostolici, votique compotem redire in patriam concessit, et [3]primi doctoris nostri sacratissimam sedem ad pristinam dignitatem per te iterum exaltare dignatus est.' Regalis igitur epistolæ partem, simul et pontificalis, apponere dignum reor, quamvis anticipare temporum seriem videar; sed ideo hoc faciam, quia difficilius contexo interrupta, quam absolvo instituta.

Côenuulf's epistle to Pope Leo.

§ 88. '[4]Domino beatissimo et vere amantissimo [5]Leoni, sanctæ et apostolicæ sedis Romanæ pontifici, Kenulfus gratia Dei rex Merciorum, cum episcopis, ducibus, et omni sub nostra ditione dignitatis gradu, sincerissimæ dilectionis in Christo salutem. Gratias omnipotenti Deo semper agimus, qui ecclesiam, suo pretioso sanguine adquisitam, inter diversas mundi hujus procellas, novis semper, prioribus ad vitam sumptis, suescit ducibus ad portum salutis attrahere, eamque nova luce infundere, quatenus nullo sit tenebrarum errore fuscata, sed viam veritatis inoffenso pede

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[1] *Albinus.*] *A. D. E. L.*; Alcuinus, *S. C.* See note [4], p. 93.

[2] *Audita prosperitate . . . dignatus est.*] Vide Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 84, epist. LXIII.

[3] *Primi doctoris nostri.*] St. Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury.

[4] *Domino beatissimo . . . custodiat incolumem.*] This letter is printed by Wilkins, Concilia, vol. I. p. 163, from Malmesbury.

[5] *Leoni.*] Leo III, elected pope 26th Dec. 795, died 11th June 816. See note [2], p. 100.

gradiatur: unde merito omnis per orbem exultat ecclesia, quia cum omnium verus Remunerator bonorum gloriosissimum gregis sui pastorem Adrianum perpetuo remunerandum super æthera duxisset, suis tamen ovibus pia erexit providentia prævium, qui scit ovile Dominicum ad caulas non inferius vitæ agitare. Nos quoque merito, quos extremitas orbis tenet, eodem modo præ cæteris gloriamur, quia illius sublimitas nostra salus est, illius prosperitas nobis perennis exultatio; quia unde tibi apostolica dignitas, inde nobis fidei veritas innotuit: quapropter opportunum arbitror tuis sanctis jussionibus aurem obedientiæ nostræ humiliter inclinari, et quæ tuæ pietati rite nobis sequenda videantur toto nisu implenda; quæ vero rationi contraria deprehensa fuerint citius declinanda, ac interim a nobis [1] omnimodis resecanda. Sed modo ego Kenulfus, gratia Dei rex, excellentiam tuam humilis exoro, ut te sine offensione animi vestri, de profectu nostro, ut optamus, liceat alloqui, quatenus me in gremium pietatis tuæ tranquilla pace percipias, et quem meritorum nulla facultas erigit, larga benedictionis tuæ ubertas ad plebem suam regendam locupletet; ut una mecum gentem, quam vestra apostolica auctoritas fidei rudimentis imbuit, per intercessionem tuam contra impetus exterorum Omnipotens erigat, et per se regnum, quod ipse Deus dedit nobis, dilatare dignetur. Hanc benedictionem omnes, qui ante me sceptro præfuere Merciorum, meruerunt ab antecessoribus tuis adipisci; hanc ipse humilis peto, et a vobis (O sanctissimi!) impetrare cupio, quatenus in primis adoptionis sorte me tibi filium suscipias, sicuti te in patris persona diligo, et totis obedientiæ

[1] *Omnimodis.*] *A. C. D. L. M.*; omnimodo, *S.*; omnimode, *E.*

viribus semper amplector. Decet enim inter tantas personas fides sancta servari, et inviolata caritas custodiri; quia paterna pietas filiorum felicitas in Deo esse credenda est, [1] secundum illud Ezechiæ, "Pater filiis notam faciet veritatem tuam, Domine." In quibus verbis te (amande genitor) imploro, ut filio tuo, tam si indigno, veritatem Domini tuis verbis sacrosanctis notam facere non deneges, ut per tuam sanam eruditionem, Deo adjuvante, ad melioris vitæ propositum merear pervenire. Quin etiam, dulcissime, cum omnibus episcopis nostris, et cujuscunque apud nos dignitatis persona, deprecor uti nobis de multimodis inquisitionibus, super quibus maximam subtilitatem vestram dignum duximus perquirere, benigne respondeas, ne sanctorum traditio patrum, et ab illis tradita nobis regula, quasi incognita per aliquid vitietur in nobis; sed sermo tuus directus nobis in caritate et mansuetudine veniat, ut per Dei misericordiam profuturum in nobis perficiat fructum. Primum namque est quod pontifices nostri ac peritissimi quique in nobis dicunt quod contra canones et apostolica statuta, quæ nobis a patre beatissimo Gregorio dirigente statuta sunt, sicut vos scitis, auctoritas Dorovernensis metropolitani in duas scindatur parochias, cujus (eodem patre mandante) ditioni subjacere debent episcopi duodecim, sicut per ecclesias nostras legitur in epistola quam fratri et coepiscopo Augustino direxit de duobus Londoniæ et Eboracæ metropolis episcopis, quam etiam apud vos haberi non dubitamus. Sed ipse primum pontificalis apex, qui tunc Londoniæ sub honore et ornamento pallii fuerat conscriptus, pro eo Dorovernensi oblatus est, atque concessus. Nam

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[1] *Secundum illud Ezechiæ.*] Isaiah XXXVIII. 19.

quia beatæ recordationis Augustinus, qui verbum Dei, imperante Gregorio, Anglorum genti ministrabat, et gloriosissime ecclesiis præfuit Saxoniæ, in eadem civitate diem obiit, et corpus illius in basilica beati Petri apostolorum principis, quam successor ejus Laurentius sacravit, conditum fuisset, visum est cunctis gentis nostræ sapientibus quatenus in illa civitate metropolitanus honor haberetur ubi [1]corpore pausat qui his partibus fidei veritatem inseruit. Cujus itaque, sicut vos scitis, dignitatis honorem primum rex Offa, propter inimicitiam cum venerabili Lanberto et gente Cantuariorum acceptam, avertere, et in duas parochias dissipare, nisus; et piissimus coepiscopus et antecessor vester Adrianus, rogatu prædicti regis, facere cœpit quod prius nemo præsumpsit, et Merciorum præsulem pallio extulit. Neutrum tamen ex his culpamus, quos Christus, ut credimus, æterna victoria triumphat. Sed tamen excellentiam vestram humiles exoramus, quibus a Deo merito sapientiæ clavis collata est, ut super hac causa cum sapientibus vestris quæratis, et quicquid vobis videatur, nobis postea servandum, rescribere dignemini; ne tunica Christi inconsutilis alicujus inter nos dissensionis scisma patiatur, sed per vestram sanam doctrinam, ut desideramus, ad veræ pacis unitatem dirigatur. Magna enim humilitate simul et dilectione hæc tibi scripsimus, papa beatissime, clementiam tuam profusius precantes quatenus ad ea, quæ a nobis necessario explicita sunt, benigne et juste respondeas. Sed et illam epistolam, quam Ethelardus archiepiscopus coram cunctis provincialibus episcopis nostris multiplicius de suis, ac

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[1] *Corpore pausat.*] *C. D. E. M.*; corpus pausat, *L.*; corpus ejus pausat, *A. S.*

totius Britanniæ causis et necessitatibus, tibi scripsit, pio amore perscrutari digneris, et quicquid de rebus, quæ in ea scripta sunt, fidei normula poscat, pagina nobis veritatis patefacere memineris: ergo præterito anno legationem meam etiam et episcoporum per Wadan abbatem misimus; at ille, accipiens illam legationem, segniter, immo insipienter, deduxit. Sed modo tibi modicum, amoris gratia, munus per Birine presbyterum, et Fildas et Cheolberth ministros meos, (pater amande,) mitto, quod est centum viginti [1]mancusas, cum literis, precans te ut benigne suscipias, et benedictionem tuam nobis donare digneris. Omnipotens Deus te longævo tempore ad laudem suæ sanctæ ecclesiæ custodiat incolumem.'

Pope Leo's epistle to Côenuulf.

§ 89. '[2]Domino excellentissimo filio Kenulfo, regi Merciorum provinciæ Saxoniæ, Leo papa. Veniens ad sacratissima limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, tam orationis vota fideliter solvens, quamque nostræ apostolicæ sedi causam sui sacerdotii suggerens, reverendissimus et sanctissimus frater noster Ethelardus archiepiscopus Dorovernensis ecclesiæ obtulit nobis vestræ regalis excellentiæ syllabas; quibus in duabus epistolis a vobis directis, plenis fidei rectæ, magnam humilitatem vestram reperientes, omnipotenti Deo referimus grates, qui vestram prudentissimam excellentiam in omnibus ornavit ac decoravit, erga beatum Petrum apostolorum principem, et nobiscum habere dilectionem, et in omnibus apostolicis humiliter consentire censuris. Porro in

[1] *Mancusas.*] *S. C. E.*; manculas, *A. D. L.*—The value of the mancus is doubtful: sometimes it appears to mean the same with mark; at others it is supposed equal to thirty pence of the money of that time, or seven shillings and sixpence. (Sharpe, 90.)

[2] *Domino excellentissimo . . . observandum tradidimus.*] This letter is printed in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 165, from Malmesbury.

una ex illis epistolis reperimus qualiter gratia nostræ apostolicæ functionis, si juxta fuissetis, animam vestram pro nobis posuissetis benigne; immo et nostræ prosperitati multum in Domino congaudeatis, et quando nostræ dulcissimæ admonitionis literæ ad vestræ unanimitatis perveniunt aures, cum omni suavitate cordis et gaudio spiritali, quasi filii, paternum munus suscipere fatemini. Fatebatur vero et hoc, quod aliquantulam ex vestra facultate benedictionem nobis offerri demandastis, id est, centum viginti [1]mancusas, quas cum magno amore pro animæ vestræ salute suscepimus. Et prædictus archiepiscopus cum sociis suis honorifice ac benigne a nobis susceptus est, et adjuvari eum in suis necessitatibus libenter fecimus. Interea credentes vestræ prudentissimæ excellentiæ, ubi ferebatur in ipsis tuis regalibus apicibus quod nostris apostolicis sanctionibus nullus Christianus contraire præsumit; ideo totis nisibus nostris ea quæ tuo regno expediunt emittere atque prædicare conamur, ut ea quæ vobis prælatus frater noster Ethelardus archiepiscopus, seu tota synodus evangelicæ atque apostolicæ doctrinæ sanctorumque patrum, nec non prædecessorum sanctorum nostrorum pontificum, canonica censura prædicante, vestræ regali excellentiæ, seu cunctis principibus gentis vestræ, et universo populo Dei, edisserit, nequaquam in orthodoxa eorum doctrina quippiam resistere debeatis, Domino ac Redemptore nostro in evangelio dicente, ubi ait, "[2]Qui vos recipit, me recipit; et qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetæ, mercedem prophetæ accipiet." Quanto magis pro ipso sæpedicto archiepiscopo, quem nobis valde

[1] *Mancusas.*] *S. C. E.*; manculas, *A. D. L.*

[2] *Qui vos . . . prophetæ accipiet.*] Matt. x. 40, 41.

nimisque collaudastis, sicuti et est videlicet[1] clarissimus atque peritissimus, et quia illum scitis prudentem, bonis ornatum moribus, Deo et hominibus dignum; ecce (fili dulcissime et amantissime atque præstantissime, rex bone,) in his tuis assertionibus collaudamus Deum omnipotentem qui talem vobis demonstravit antistitem, qui, sicut verus pastor, indicere verbis secundum doctrinam sanctarum scripturarum dignam pœnitentiam valet, et eruere, qui sub ditione sacerdotali ejus existunt, animas eorum ex inferno inferiore, et ab igne inextinguibili deducens eos et infraducens in portum salutis, et offerre pro illis hostiam dignam et immaculatam in conspectu divinæ majestatis omnipotenti Deo. Et quia multum nobis prænominatus archiepiscopus in omni sanctitate sua et vitæ conversatione ultro citroque placuit, valde nimis ei credentes, ex auctoritate ei beati Petri apostolorum principis, cujus vel immeriti vices gerimus, talem præbuimus præsulatum, ut si quispiam ex subjectis suis, tam regibus et principibus quamque universo populo, transgressus fuerit Dominica mandata, excommunicet eum usque pœniteat, et, si impœnitens fuerit, sit vobis sicut ethnicus et publicanus. De vero Ethelardo jam facto archiepiscopo Dorovernensis ecclesiæ, sicut a nobis poposcit vestrorum præsulum excellentia, ut ei justitiam faceremus de ipsis diœcesibus suis, tam episcoporum quamque monasteriorum, quibus illicite, ut vos cognovistis, expoliatus est, et a venerabili sede ejus, quas dudum tenuit, ablatæ sunt, nos, per omnia enucleatius trutinantes, in sacro scrinio nostro reperimus sanctum Gregorium, prædecessorem [2]nos-

[1] *Clarissimus atque peritissimus.*] *S. C. D. E.*; clarissimus, dignissimus, carissimus, atque peritissimus, *A. L.*

[2] *Nostrum.*] *S. C. E.*; after 'nostrum,' *A. L.* read 'in ipsa sancta sede, omnia;' *D. M.* read the same, omitting 'nostrum.'

trum, in integro ipsam parochiam numero [1] duodecim beato Augustino syncello suo archiepiscopo tradidisse, et confirmasse episcopos consecrandi. Unde et nos (veritate ipsa reperta) ordinatione seu confirmatione nostra apostolica auctoritate eas illi in integro, sicut antiquitus fuerunt, constituentes reddidimus, et privilegium confirmationis, secundum sacrorum canonum censuram, ecclesiæ suæ observandum tradidimus.'

§ 90. Offa interea, ne sibi fraudi forent dure in provinciales admissa, undique amicos reges venans, pacemque concilians, [2] Brithrico regi West-Saxonum filiam Edelburgam nuptum dedit. Karolum magnum regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum paravit, quamvis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Karoli animo invenerit: discordaverant antea, adeo ut magnis motibus utrobique concurrentibus, etiam negotiatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Est [3] epistola Albini, hujusce rei index, cujus partem hic apponam, documentum ingens magnanimitatis et fortitudinis Karoli, qui omnem ætatem triverit in bellis contra paganos Deo rebelles.

Offa marries his daughter to Beorhtric of Wessex, A.D. 787.

His amity with Charlemagne.

§ 91. '[4] Antiqui,' inquit, 'Saxones, et omnes Fresonum populi, instante rege Karolo, alios præmiis et alios minis solicitante, ad fidem Christi conversi sunt; sed anno transacto idem rex cum exercitu irruit super Sclavos, eosque subegit suæ ditioni. Avares, quos nos Hunos dicimus, exarserunt in Italiam, et, a ducibus præfati regis Christianis superati, domum cum opprobrio re-

Passages from Alcuin's epistle.

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[1] *Duodecim.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; duodecim episcoporum, *D. M.*

[2] *Brithrico regi West-Saxonum filiam Edelburgam nuptum dedit.*] See note [6], p. 59.

[3] *Epistola Albini.*] The whole of this letter is printed by Ussher, (Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, 4to. Paris, 1665,) epist. XVIII. p. 36, and Alcuin. Op. tom. I. p. 6. ep. III.

[4] *Antiqui Saxones.*] i. e. Westphalians.

versi sunt. Similiter et super Baugariam irruerunt, qui et ipsi ab exercitu Christiano superati et dispersi sunt. Etiam et ejusdem Christianissimi regis duces et tribuni multam partem Hispaniæ tulerunt a Saracenis quasi trecenta millia in longum per maritima; sed heu, proh dolor! quod iidem maledicti Saraceni (qui et Agareni) tota dominantur Affrica et Asia Majori maxima ex parte. Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit: aliquid enim dissensionis, diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter regem Karolum et regem Offam exortum est, ita ut utrinque navigatio interdicta negotiantibus cesset. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace esse in illas partes mittendos.'

§ 92. In his verbis, præter illa quæ superius notavi, poterit curiosus animadvertere quantum jam annorum effluxerit ex quo Saraceni Affricam et Asiam Majorem invaserint. Et profecto, nisi Dei clementia ingenitum robur Francorum imperatorum animasset, pridem Europam subjugassent. Adeo contemptis imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis Siciliam et Sardiniam et Baleares insulas, et pene omnes terras quæ pelago cinguntur, præter Rhodum et Cretam et Ciprum, occupaverant: sed nostris diebus per Northmannos Siciliam, per Pisanos Corsicam et Sardiniam, per Francos et omnis generis ex Europa Christianos magnam partem Asiæ, et ipsam Jerusalem, relinquere coacti sunt; de quibus quia in [1]sequentibus amplior erit narrandi locus, nunc ex verbis Karoli fœdus firmum inter eum et Offam compactum subjiciam.

Charlemagne's epistle to Offa.

§ 93. '[2]Karolus, [3]gratia Dei rex Francorum et

[1] *Sequentibus.*] *C. D. E. M.*; consequentibus, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Karolus . . . serica.*] Charlemagne's letter is printed in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 158, and in Alcuin. Op. tom. II. App. p. 618.

[3] *Gratia Dei.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; omitted in *A. L.*

Longobardorum, et patricius Romanorum, viro venerando et fratri carissimo Offæ regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo de catholicæ fidei sinceritate quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui, pro amore Dei et salute animarum suarum, beatorum apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant; sed si aliqui, non religioni servientes, sed lucra sectantes, inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant thelònia. Negotiatores quoque volumus, ut ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitime; et si in aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclament se ad nos vel nostros judices, et plenam jubebimus justitiam fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de dalmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel [1]Ethelredi direximus in eleemosinam domini apostolici Adriani, deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis; nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius [2]animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem et dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis carissimum. Sed et de thesauro humanarum rerum, quem Dominus Jesus nobis gratuita pietate concessit, aliquid per metropolitanas civitates direximus; vestræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum et unum gladium Huniscum, et duo pallia serica.'

§ 94. Hæc saltuatim verba epistolæ decerpens, Ecgfrith. A.D. 796.
iccirco apposui, ut posteris elucescat amicitia Offæ et Karoli; cujus familiaritate fretus, licet multorum impeteretur odio, dulci tamen vitam consumpsit otio, et [3]Egfertum filium, ante mortem

[1] *Ethelredi.*] Aethelred, or Aethelberht, of Northumbria died 19th April 796.

[2] *Animam in requie esse.*] Adrian died 25th December 795.

[3] *Egfertum filium, ante mortem*

suam in regem inunctum, [1] successorem dimisit. Ille sedulo paternæ immanitatis vestigia declinans, privilegia omnium ecclesiarum, quæ seculo suo genitor attenuaverat, prona devotione revocavit. Prædium quoque, quod pater Malmesbiriæ abstulerat, reddidit in manu Cuthberti tunc illius loci abbatis, hortatu Ethelardi archiepiscopi Cantuariæ, strenui sane et Deo digni viri, quem abbatem ibi fuisse ante Cuthbertum constans opinio [2] asseverat. Itaque cum spes egregiæ indolis primis annis Egferti adoleret, sæva mors vernantis ætatis florem messuit; [3] unde Osberto patricio Albinus: 'Non arbitror quod nobilissimus juvenis Egfertus propter peccata sua mortuus sit, sed quia pater suus pro confirmatione regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit.' [4] Post quatuor ergo menses regni excedens, Kenulfum, quinto genu nepotem Pendæ ex fratre Kenwalkio, regem constituit.

Death of Ecgfrith.

Cōenuulf, A.D. 796.

§ 95. Kenulfus, in primis magnus vir et virtutibus famam supergrediens, nihil quod livor digne carperet unquam admisit; domi religiosus, in bello victoriosus, vir cujus laudes merito nitentur in altum, quamdiu æquus arbiter in Anglia invenietur, laudandus tum regni sublimi-

suam in regem inunctum.] Ecgfrith was consecrated king during his father's lifetime, A.D. 787.

[1] *Successorem dimisit.*] Offa died 29th July, A.D. 796, and was succeeded by his son Ecgfrith, who died in the same year. Some copies of the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and others, incorrectly place the death of Offa in the year 794. The letter from Charlemagne to Offa, written before April 796, mentions the death of Adrian; consequently Offa must have been living after the death of that pope, which took place on the 25th Dec. 795.

[2] *Asseverat.*] *C. E.*; after 'asseverat,' *A. S. D. L. M.* read 'hoc argumenti assumens quod defunctum se eo loci tumulari fecerit.'

[3] *Unde Osberto patricio Albinus.*] The editor of Alcuin's works (tom. I. p. 74, note *c*) observes, that the letter from which Malmesbury has extracted this passage is not known.

[4] *Post quatuor ergo menses regni excedens, Kenulfum . . . regem constituit.*] Ecgfrith died after a few months' reign, and Cōenuulf was appointed his successor.

tate, tum mentis humilitate, qua enituit amplissime quando, [1] ut supra diximus, dignitatem [2] Cantuariam labefactatam refecit; parum faciens rex mundanum in sua provincia supercilium, dummodo antiquitus statutum non transgrederetur tramitem canonum. Contra Cantuaritas successivum ab Offa suscipiens odium, regionem illam valide afflixit; [3] regemque eorum Edbrithtum cognomine [4] Pren vinctum abduxit, sed non multo post, humana miseratione mollitus, solvendum curavit: nam apud Winchelcumbam, ubi ecclesiam, quæ adhuc superest, Deo exædificaverat, ipsa dedicationis die regem captivum ad altare manumittens libertate palpavit, memorabile clementiæ suæ spectaculum exhibens. Aderat ibidem munificentiæ regiæ applausor [5] Cuthredus, quem ille Cantuaritis regem præfecerat. Sonabat basilica plausibus, platea fremebat discursibus, [6] quod in conventu tredecim episcoporum, decem ducum, nullus largitatis pateretur repulsam, omnes suffarcinatis marsupiis abirent; nam præter illa xenia quæ magnates susceperant, inæstimabilis scilicet pretii et numeri, in utensilibus, vestibus, equis electissimis, omnibus qui agros non habebant libram argenti, presbyteris mancam auri, monachis solidum unum, postremo toti populo multa erogavit. Idem monasterium cum magnis redditibus, quantum hoc

A.D. 798.

[1] *Ut supra diximus.*] See antea, § 87, pp. 119, 120.

[2] *Cantuariam.*] *E.*; Cantuariæ, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*—The see of Canterbury was restored to its pristine state A.D. 798, after Aethelheard's first return from Rome. He sat from 791 to 11th June 805.

[3] *Regemque eorum Edbrithtum cognomine Pren vinctum abduxit.*] See § 15, p. 24. In note [6], Cuthred is mis-stated to have been made king of Kent by Offa. It was Cœnuulf who made Cuthred king.

[4] *Pren.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; Wren, *A. L.*

[5] *Cuthredus.*] Cuthred was made king of Kent after the defeat of Eadbyrht Præn in 798, and not in 796, as stated at pages 24, 25.

[6] *Quod.*] *E.*; quod ibi, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

A.D. 821. tempore incredibile videatur, ampliasset, [1]vicesimo quarto regni anno funere suo honoravit. [2]Filius Cênelm. ejus Kenelmus, puer admodum a sorore Quendrida innocue cæsus, nomenque et decus martyrii adeptus, ibidem pausat.

Decline of Mercia. § 96. Post illum regnum Merciorum nutabundum, et, ut ita dicam, exangue, nihil quod litera dignetur comminisci [3]habuit; sed, ne quis nos arguat semimutilatam historiam interrumpere, re- Ceôluulf, A.D. 821. gum succedentium nomina transcurram. [4]Cheolwulfus frater Kenulfi, uno anno regnans, altero Beornuulf, A.D. 823. a Bernulfo expulsus est: [5]Bernulfus, tertio regni anno ab Egbirhto rege West-Saxonum victus et fugatus, mox ab Orientalibus Anglis occisus est, quod ille Orientalem Angliam, ut debitum Merciis regnum a tempore Offæ, invadere ten- Ludeca, A.D. 824. tasset. [6]Ludecanius ab eisdem Anglis post biennem potestatem, ultionem antecessoris animo Uuiglâf, A.D. 825. intendens, oppressus est. [7]Withlacus, in initio regni ab eodem Egbirhto sub jugum missus, regnavit annis tredecim, et illi et filio capitis et pecuniarum tributa persolvens. Eadem sorte

[1] *Vicesimo quarto regni anno funere suo honoravit.*] Côenuulf died A.D. 821, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign.

[2] *Filius ejus Kenelmus, puer admodum a sorore Quendrida innocue cæsus.*] Cênelm, whom his father Côenuulf left as heir to his kingdom, being only seven years old, was, shortly after, at the instigation of his sister Quendrida, assassinated by Ascobert. his tutor. See the life of St. Cênelm.

[3] *Habuit.*] *A.D.L.M.*; meruit, *S. C.*

[4] *Cheolwulfus.*] Ceôluulf, the paternal uncle of Cênelm, succeeded to the kingdom in the year 821, and was deposed by Beornuulf, a Mercian noble, A.D. 823.

[5] *Bernulfus, tertio regni anno ..... victus et fugatus.*] The battle between Beornuulf and Ecgberht was fought at Ellandune, (supposed to be Wilton, near Salisbury,) A.D. 824. Beornuulf was slain by the East-Angles in the same year.

[6] *Ludecanius.*] Ludeca was slain A.D. 825, and was succeeded by Uuiglâf.

[7] *Withlacus.*] *D.E.M.*; Wihtlafius, *A. L.*; Withlafius, *S.*; Withlavus, *C.*—Uuiglâf was expelled from the throne of Mercia by Ecgberht A.D. 827, but was restored the following year. He died A.D. 839.

[1] Berthtwulfus tredecim regnans annis, novissime a piratis Danorum ultra mare fugatus est. [2] Burhredus, accepta Ethelspida filia regis Athulfi filii Egbirhti, affinitate illius et vectigalium pensionem et hostium deprædationem consolatus est; sed post viginti duos annos ab eisdem patria deturbatus, Romam diffugit, ibique apud Scholam Anglorum in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ tumulatus est. [3] Uxor ejus, tunc quidem in patria residens, sed postea virum secuta, apud Papiam extremam sortem incurrit. Tunc regnum illud, a Danis cuidam [4] Chelwulfo Burhredi ministro traditum, et ne ultra placitum retineret sacramento [5] firmatum, post paucos annos Elfredus nepos Egbirhti obtinuit. Ita principatus Merciorum, qui per tumidam gentilis viri insaniam subito effloruit, tunc per miseram semiviri regis ignaviam omnino emarcuit, anno Dominicæ incarnationis [6] octingentesimo septuagesimo quinto.

Beorthuulf, A.D. 839. Burgred, A.D. 852. Ceôluulf, A.D. 874. Aelfred. A.D. 875.

INCIPIT DE REGNO ORIENTALIUM ANGLORUM.

§ 97. Sed quia quatuor potentissima regna hucusque non exiliter, ut arbitror, quantum lectio majorum suggessit, peraravit stilus, nunc, ut in procemio dixi, Orientalium Anglorum et Orientalium Saxonum principatum idem post

Kingdom of East-Anglia, circiter A.D. 526.

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[1] *Berthtwulfus.*] Beorthuulf ascended the throne on the death of Uuiglâf, A.D. 839. He was defeated by the Danes in 851, and died A.D. 852.

[2] *Burhredus.*] Burgred came to the throne A.D. 852. His marriage with Ethelsuuitha, daughter of Aetheluulf, king of Wessex, took place at Chippenham, after Easter, in the year 854. He was defeated and expelled by the Danes, A.D. 874; and fled to Rome, where he soon after died.

[3] *Uxor ejus .... apud Papiam extremam sortem incurrit.*] Ethelsuuitha died at Pavia A.D. 889.

[4] *Chelwulfo.*] Ceôluulf was placed on the throne by the Danes upon the expulsion of Burgred, A.D. 874; and in Aug. 877, Mercia was apportioned by Halfdan, and part given to Ceôluulf.

[5] *Firmatum.*] *S.C.D.E.L.M.*; adacto, *A.*

[6] *Octingentesimo septuagesimo*

aliorum terga percurret; namque posterius regno Cantuaritarum, sed prius regno West-Saxonum, pullulavit regnum Orientalium Anglorum.

Reodwalde. [1]Primus ergo, idemque maximus, apud Orientales Anglos rex fuit Redwaldus, a Wodenio, ut scribunt, decimum genu nactus: omnes quippe australes Anglorum et Saxonum provinciæ citra Humbram fluvium cum suis regibus ejus nutum spectabant. [2]Hic est ille quem superior relatio non tacuit Ethelfridum regem Northanhimbrorum, pro Edwini favore, trucidasse. Idem, suadente eodem Edwino baptizatus, consilio uxorio postmodum [3]a fide descivit. At vero filius ejus

Eorpwald baptized, A.D. 627.

Eorpwaldus, incorruptam Christianitatem complexus, inviolatum spiritum Deo effudit, a Ricberto gentili innocenter peremtus.

Sigiberht, A.D. 631.

[4]Huic Sigebertus successit, vir Deo dignus, frater ejus ex matre, omnemque barbariem pro Francorum nutritura exutus: namque a Redwaldo [5]in exilium actus, eorumque diu contubernio fruitus, sacramenta Christianitatis assumpserat, quæ, potestate initiatus, regno suo toti dignanter in-

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quinto.] *A.S.D.E.L.M.*; octingentesimo quinto, *C.*

[1] *Primus . . . apud Orientales Anglos rex fuit Redwaldus.*] Pagi refers the commencement of this kingdom to about the year 526, when the Angles, having landed upon the eastern shores of Britain, established themselves under their twelve chiefs. Uffa, one of the twelve, and who survived the others, did not assume the title of king of the East-Angles before the year 571. The dynasty which he founded acquired the name of Uffingas. Uffa died A.D. 578, and was succeeded by his son Titil, who is supposed to have died in the year 599, and to whom Reodwalde his son succeeded. See Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. II. c. 15.

[2] *Hic est ille quem superior relatio.*] See antea, § 47, p. 64; note [4], p. 67.

[3] *A fide descivit.*] See Beda, lib. II. c. 15, § 135.

[4] *Huic Sigebertus successit.*] Eorpwald, who succeeded his father Reodwalde about the year 624, was baptized A.D. 627; and being slain in the same year by Richberht, who thereupon usurped the throne during three years, his brother Sigiberht's accession must be placed in the year 631.

[5] *In exilium actus . . . per loca instituit.*] See Beda, lib. III. c. 18.

fudit, scholasque etiam literarum per loca instituit; quod pro magno certe debet prædicari, ut literarum dulcedinem per eum experirentur homines agrestes antea et fanatici. Adjutor religionis fuit, et studiorum incentor, [1] Felix episcopus, Burgundiæ oriundus, qui nunc Ramesiæ requiescit. Porro [2] Sigebertus, seculo renuncians monachicæque tonsuræ compos, Egrico cognato thro- Egric, A.D. 634.
num reliquit; cum quo, a Penda rege Merciorum sociali bello appetitus, mortem oppetiit, cum fortior ipse malis, et professionis non immemor, virgam tantum manu gestaret. [3] Successor Egrici Anna, filius [4] Eni fratris Redwaldi, eodem furente Anna, A.D. 635.
Penda simili involutus exitio, gloriosæ propaginis numerositate felix eminuit, [5] sicut secundus liber suo loco insinuabit. Successit Annæ frater ejus Ethelhere, occisusque est a rege Northanhim- Ethelher, A.D. 654.
brorum Oswio cum Penda merito, quod ei concurreret in auxilium, et fulciret exercitum qui pessum dedisset fratrem et cognatum. [6] Hujus successor frater Ethelwaldus continuatis succes- Ethelwald, A.D. 655.
sionibus regnum reliquit ejusdem Ethelherii filiis A.D. 664.

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[1] *Felix episcopus.*] Felix, first bishop of Dunwich, consecrated in the year 630, died on the 8th March, A.D. 646. He was sent by Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, for the conversion of Sigiberht.

[2] *Sigebertus ... Egrico cognato thronum reliquit.*] Sigiberht abdicated, and became a monk in Bury St. Edmond's, A.D. 634, having left his throne to his kinsman Egric. They were both slain by Penda of Mercia in the following year.

[3] *Successor Egrici Anna.*] The accession of Anna, nephew of Reodwalde, took place A.D. 635. He was slain by Penda A.D. 654, when he was succeeded by his brother Ethelher, who was slain in the following year.

[4] *Eni.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[5] *Sicut secundus liber suo loco insinuabit.*] Malmesbury in his second book gives an account of the three daughters of King Anna, Etheldrith, Ethelburh, and Sexburh, and their descendants. Compare Beda, lib. III. c. 7, 18, and Smith's note upon 'optimæ genitor sobolis.'

[6] *Hujus successor frater Ethelwaldus.*] Upon the death of his brother Ethelher, in 655, Ethelwald ascended the throne. He died in 664.

Eadwulf, Elcwold, Beorna, Aethelred. Aethelberht, slain A.D. 793.

[1] Aldulfo et [2] Elcwoldo: his Beorna, huic quoque Ethelredus successit: hujus fuit filius sanctus [3] Egelbrihtus, quem Offa rex Merciorum dolose interemit, [4] ut dictum est, et dicetur posterius. Pauci post eum in Orientali Anglia regnaverunt potentes usque ad [5] sanctum Edmundum, pro violentia Merciorum, qui anno regni sui sextodecimo ab Hinguar pagano peremtus est. Ex quo in Orientali Anglia desiere regnare Angli annis quinquaginta. Novennio enim sine rege, paganis vastantibus provincia subjacuit: post in ea, et in Orientali Saxonia, [6] Guthrum rex Danus regnavit annis duodecim tempore regis Elfredi. Guthrum habuit successorem, æque Danum, nomine Eohric; qui, cum regnasset annis quatuordecim, peremtus est ab Anglis quod inciviliter in eos egisset: nec tamen libertas eis assurrexit, Danorum comitibus vel eos prementibus, vel in

Eâdmund, A.D. 854; slain A.D. 870.

Guthorm, A.D. 879.

Eohric, A.D. 891; slain A.D. 905.

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[1] *Aldulfo.*] Eadwulf, son of Ethelher, succeeded upon the death of his uncle in 664. His mother was Heresuitha, sister of Hilda, abbess of Streaneshalch. The time of his death is uncertain: it happened between the years 680 and 683.

[2] *Elcwoldo.*] Elcwold succeeded his brother Eadwulf, and died, according to Hickes, in 690. He was succeeded by Selraed, who died in 747, to whom Aelfuuald succeeded in that year, and died in 749. After him it seems that Hunbeanna and Alberht (called by Matthew of Westminster and others Beorna and Aethelberht) conjointly reigned in East-Anglia. Hickes makes Beorna and Aethelred succeed Elcwold in 690, and states that Beorna died before Aethelred; but the dates of both their deaths are unknown. The succession of the kings of East-Anglia is involved in great obscurity.

[3] *Egelbrihtus.*] Aethelberht, the son of Aethelred, was slain by Offa A.D. 793. He was regarded as a martyr. The day of his celebration in the English martyrology is the 20th May.

[4] *Ut dictum est.*] See antea, § 86, p. 118.

[5] *Sanctum Edmundum.*] Eâdmund, the direct descendant of the ancient kings of East-Anglia, was crowned on Christmas day A.D. 854; and was slain by Inguar, a Danish prince, on the 20th of November in the year 870.

[6] *Guthrum rex Danus.*] Guthorm, or Godrum, took the title of king of East-Anglia by permission of King Aelfred A.D. 879, and died in 891; when he was succeeded by Eohric, who was slain in 905.

West-Saxonum reges acuentibus, donec Edwardus filius Elfredi ambas provincias, expulsis Danis, liberatis Anglis, suo, id est, West-Saxonico imperio adjecit, anno post occisionem sancti Edmundi quinquagesimo, [1]regni sui quinto decimo. Eadweard the Elder, A.D. 918.

DE REGNO ORIENTALIUM SAXONUM.

§ 98. Eodem fere tempore quo cœpit regnum Orientalium Anglorum, [2]surrexit regnum Orientalium Saxonum; et habuere quidem Orientales Saxones reges per successionem multos, sed aliis regibus et maxime Merciis subjectos. [3]Primus igitur apud eos regnavit Sledda, a Wodenio decimus; ejus filius [4]Sebertus, nepos Ethelberti regis Cantuariorum ex sorore Ricula, fidem Christi suscepit, prædicante Mellito, qui primus Londoniæ fuit episcopus. Ea enim urbs ad Orientales Saxones spectat. Seberto mortuo, filii ejus, Sexredus et Sewardus, [5]Mellitum ex- Kingdom of Essex, circiter A.D. 526. Sleda, A.D. 587. Saeberht, A.D. 597. Seaxred and Sigeweard, A.D. 616.

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[1] *Regni sui quinto decimo.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle, the East-Anglians submitted to King Eadweard in the year 921, which is the fifty-first from the murder of King Eådmund; and following this statement, as Eadweard succeeded his father Aelfred A.D. 901, the year of the expulsion of the Danes would be the twentieth of his reign. In Florence of Worcester the union of the kingdoms under Eadweard the Elder is assigned to the year 918.

[2] *Surrexit.*] *A. S. C. L.*; successit, *D. E. M.*

[3] *Primus igitur apud eos regnavit Sledda.*] Henry of Huntingdon considers the first king of Essex to have been Ercenwini, called by Florence of Worcester, in his genealogy of the kings, Aescwini. His son Sleda succeeded him in 587, and died in 597.

[4] *Sebertus.*] Saeberht, the son and successor of Sleda, began his reign in 597, and was converted to Christianity in 604. He died A.D. 616, and left his sons Seaxred and Sigeweard his successors.

[5] *Mellitum expulerunt.*] Mellitus, ordained bishop of London A.D. 604, was driven into banishment in 617. He was afterwards made archbishop of Canterbury, and died 24th April, A.D. 624. See Beda, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. II. c. 3-7.

pulerunt; [1]nec multo post, a West-Saxonibus occisi, tyrannidis in Christum pœnas pependere. Sigiberht I, A.D. 623. Succedens eis Sigebertus cognomento Parvus, Sewardi filius, [2]reliquit regnum Sigeberto, Sigebaldi filio, qui fuerat frater Seberti. Sigiberht II, A.D. 653. Is Sigebertus, hortatu regis Oswii, in Northanhimbria a [3]Finano episcopo baptizatus, gentem suam ad fidem quam cum Mellito abjecerant, per [4]episcopum Cheddum reduxit; quique post gloriose administratum regnum, gloriosius reliquit, a propinquis interemtus, quod, evangelici præcepti sequax, hostibus serenus parceret, nec delinquentes, si pœniterent, rugato et duro vultu suspenderet. Suuithhelm, A.D. 660. Post eum frater [5]Swithelmus regnavit, ab eodem Cheddo in Orientali Anglia baptizatus. Sigheri and Sebbi, A.D. 665. Eo mortuo, Sigherius filius Sigeberti Parvi, et Sebbi filius Sewardi, regnum tenuerunt. Veruntamen Sebbi, socio ante se defuncto, ipse quoque tricesimo anno voluntarie regno decessit, monachus ([6]ut Beda refert) factus: filii ejus

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[1] *Nec multo post, a West-Saxonibus occisi.*] Seaxred and Sigeweard were slain in the year 623, and were succeeded by Sigiberht, surnamed the Little, son of Sigeweard.

[2] *Reliquit regnum Sigeberto.*] Sigiberht died in the year 653, and was succeeded by Sigiberht, surnamed the Good, who restored Christianity in Essex. He was slain A.D. 660. See Beda, lib. III. c. 22, § 215.

[3] *Finano episcopo.*] Finan, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeded to that see on the death of Aidan in 651.

[4] *Episcopum Cheddum.*] Cedd was ordained bishop of London about the year 656, and died A.D. 664. See Beda, lib. III. § 214.

[5] *Swithelmus.*] Suuithhelm, son of Sexbald, or Sigebald, succeeded his brother in 660, and died in 665; when Sigheri, son of Sigiberht the Little, and Sebbi, son of Sigeweard, obtained the kingdom. Respecting the parentage of Sebbi, compare Dr. Smith's note in Beda, lib. IV. c. 30, and the charter of Oethilred of Essex, Cod. Dip. Æv. Saxon. No. XXXV. p. 39.

[6] *Ut Beda refert.*] Lib. III. c. 30, § 250, and lib. IV. c. 11, § 283. —Sebbi resigned the crown, and became a monk, A.D. 693, and died in the following year. His life has been written by Capgrave, from early legends to be found in the Acta SS. August. tom. VI. p. 516. He was succeeded by his sons Sigehard and Suaebraed.

Segehardus et Seufredus regnaverunt. Illis defunctis, pauco tempore [1] regnum moderatus est Offa filius Sigherii, juvenis jocundi vultus et animi, ætatis floridæ, maximi apud cives amoris, qui hortatu Kinespidæ Pendæ filiæ, cujus nuptias speraverat, cœlestes suspirare doctus amores, Romam cum Kenredo rege Merciorum et beato [2] Egwino episcopo Wictiorum ivit, ibique attonsus cœlica regna suo tempore subivit. [3] Illi successit Selredus, Sigeberti boni filius, triginta octo annis: quo peremto, principatus est Orientalibus Saxonibus Swithedus, [4] qui, eodem anno quo Cantuaritas Egbirhtus rex West-Saxonum debellavit, ab eodem expulsus, regnum vacuefecit. Londonia tamen, cum circumjacentibus regionibus, Merciorum regibus, quamdiu ipsi imperitaverunt, paruit.

Sigehard and Suaebraed, A.D. 693.

Offa, A.D. 704.

A.D. 709.

Selraed, or Suaebriht, A.D. 709.

Suuithraed.

Ecgberht, A.D. 824.

DE PARTITIONE REGNORUM, ET PAGIS ET EPISCOPATIBUS ANGLIÆ.

§ 99. Dominabantur ergo reges Cantuaritarum proprie in Cantia; in qua sunt hii episcopatus.

Extent of the kingdom of Kent.

[1] *Regnum moderatus est Offa.*] Suaebraed died after 13th June, A.D. 704, and was succeeded by Offa, who went to Rome with Coenraed of Mercia A.D. 709, where both received tonsure by the hand of Pope Constantine.

[2] *Egwino episcopo Wictiorum.*] Ecguuini, bishop of Worcester, was consecrated A.D. 692, and sat till A.D. 717.

[3] *Illi successit Selredus, Sigeberti boni filius.*] Selraed, or Suaebriht succeeded Offa in 709, and died in 738. Selraed, son of Sigiberht the Good, was king of East-Anglia, and not of the East-Saxons: he died in 747. See note [2], p. 136. Both Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester are confused in their histories of the succession of the kings of East-Anglia and Essex.

[4] *Qui, eodem anno . . . regnum vacuefecit.*] Here must be some defect in all the MSS., for if Suuithraed succeeded upon the death of Suaebriht in 738, or even after Selraed of East-Anglia was slain in 747, it is improbable that he was reigning when the Kentish men submitted to Ecgberht in the year 824. Florence of Worcester writes, 'Suuithraed held the sovereignty some years; after whom few native kings ruled in Essex, for, in the same year that Ecgberht conquered Kent, they surrendered to his power.' Flor. Wigorn. ad Chronicon Append. (East-Saxonia.)

Archiepiscopatus Cantuariæ, episcopatus Rofensis.

Wessex. § 100. Reges West-Saxonum dominabantur in Wiltescire, et Berkensi et Dorsetensi pagis; [1]quibus est episcopus unus, cujus est modo [2]sedes Salesbirie, quondam [3]erat vel Ramesbirie vel Sciréburne.

Et [4]in Suthsexa, quæ aliquanto tempore habuit proprium regem. Eratque sedes episcopalis ejus pagi antiquitus in Seleseo, quæ est insula circumflua ponto, [5]ut Beda narrat, ubi etiam beatus Wilfridus monasterium construxit: nunc habitat episcopus apud Cicestram.

Et in pagis Suthantunensi et Sudreiensi, quibus est episcopus qui habet sedem Wintoniæ.

Et in pago Sumersetensi, qui habebat olim apud Wellas episcopum, qui nunc est Bathoniæ.

Et in Domnonia quæ Devenescire dicitur, et in Cornubia quæ nunc Cornu-gualliæ dicitur. Erantque tunc duo episcopatus, unus in Cridentuna, alter apud Sanctum Germanum: nunc est unus, et est sedes ejus Exoniæ.

Mercia. § 101. Porro reges Merciorum dominabantur in pagis his, Gloecestrensi, Wigornensi, Warwicensi: in his est episcopus unus, cujus sedes est Wigorniæ.

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[1] *Quibus est episcopus unus . . . vel Ramesbirie vel Sciréburne.*] Compare this with Malmesb. De Gestis Pontif.; De Episcopis Occidentalium Saxonum.

[2] *Sedes.*] *A.C.D.L.M.*; omitted in *E.*

[3] *Erat.*] *A.C.D.L.M.*; omitted in *E.*

[4] *In Suthsexa, quæ aliquanto tempore habuit proprium regem.*] The history of this kingdom is not well authenticated. It is supposed to have been founded about the year 490 by Aelli, who came over to Britain in 477 with his three sons, Cymen, Wlenking, and Cissi. Aelli was succeeded by his son Cissi. The South-Saxons were converted to Christianity by Wilfrið, bishop of York, in the reign of Aethiluualh, A.D. 681. The kingdom of Sussex appears sometimes to have been tributary to Kent, and at others to Wessex, to which it was finally united by Ecgberht, A.D. 824.

[5] *Ut Beda narrat.*] Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. IV. c. 13, § 289.

Et in Cestrensi, et in Derbensi, Statfordensi: in his est episcopus unus, et habet partem Warwicensis, et Scrobbeberiensis pagi, et est sedes apud civitatem Legionum, vel Coventreiam; quondam erat Lichefelde.

Et in Herefordensi, habeturque ibi episcopus habens dimidium pagum Scrobesbiriæ, et partem Warwicensis et Glocestrensis, possidens sedem in Herefordo.

Et in Oxenefordensi, Buchingensi, Hurfordensi, Huntendunensi dimidia, Bedefordensi, Northhantunensi, Legacestrensi, Lincoliensi; quas regit episcopus qui modo habet sedem Lincoliæ, quondam habebat apud Dorkecestre.

Et in Legacestrensi, Snotingensi, quorum Christianitas ad archiepiscopum Eboracensem spectat; habebaturque ibi olim proprius episcopus, cujus sedes erat apud Legacestram.

§ 102. Reges Orientalium Anglorum dominabantur in pago Grantebrigensi; et est ibi episcopus, cujus sedes est apud Heli. East-Anglia.

Et in Northfolke et Sudfolke; et est ibi episcopus, cujus sedes est apud Norwic, quondam erat apud Elman vel Tetford.

§ 103. Reges Orientalium Saxonum dominabantur in Estsexa, et dimidia Hurthfordensi; habebaturque ibi, et habetur, episcopus Londoniensis. Essex.

§ 104. Reges Northanhimbrorum dominabantur in omni regione quæ est ultra Humbram fluvium, usque ad Scotiam; erantque ibi archiepiscopus Eboracensis, episcopus Haugustaldensis et Ripensis, Lindisfarnensis, de [1] Candida Casa: Haugustaldensis et Ripensis defecerunt, Lindisfarnensis translatus est in Dunelmum. Northumbria.

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[1] *Candida Casa.*] Whithern, in Galloway.

§ 105. Hæ erant partitiones regnorum, quamvis reges pro vicissitudine temporum, modo hi, modo illi, terminos prætergrederentur pro fortitudine, vel pro ignavia amitterent: sed has omnes regnorum varietates Egbirhtus animi magnitudine compescuit, et ea, uni conquadrans imperio, ad uniforme dominium, servans unicuique proprias leges, vocavit. Quocirca quia, de [1]recensione temporum fidem placitam absolvens, ultra ejus tempora excurri, hic figam metam primo volumini, ut multifidus trames regnorum in unius West-Saxonici terminetur compendium.

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS.

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[1] *Recensione.*] *S.*; recensitione, *C. D. E. L. M.*

PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM SECUNDUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS SECUNDI LIBRI.

DIU est quod, et parentum cura, et meapte diligentia, libris insuevi. Hæc me voluptas jam inde a pueritia cepit; hæc illecebra mecum parilibus adolevit annis: nam et ita a patre institutus eram, ut, si ad diversa declinarem studia, esset animæ dispendium, et famæ periculum. Quocirca memor sententiæ, 'Cupias quodcunque necesse est,' extorsi juventuti meæ ut libenter vellem quod non velle honeste non possem. Et multis quidem literis impendi operam, sed aliis aliam. Logicam enim, quæ armat eloquium, solo libavi auditu: physicam, quæ medetur valetudini corporum, aliquanto pressius concepi: jam vero ethicæ partes medullitus rimatus, illius majestati assurgo, quod per se studentibus pateat, et animos ad bene vivendum componat: historiam præcipue, quæ, jocunda quadam gestorum notitia mores condiens ad bona sequenda, vel mala cavenda, legentes exemplis irritat. Itaque, cum domesticis sumptibus nonnullos exterarum gentium historicos conflassem, familiari otio quærere perrexi si quid de nostra gente memorabile posteris posset reperiri. Hinc est quod, ab antiquo scriptis non contentus, ipse [1]quoque

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[1] *Quoque scripturire.*] *S. C. E. L.*; quæque scripturire, *D.*; quoque scriptitare, *A.*

scripturire incepi; non ut scientiam meam, quæ pene nulla est, proponerem, sed ut res absconditas, quæ in strue vetustatis latebant, convellerem in lucem. Quapropter opiniones volaticas despuens, Chronica longe lateque corrogavi, sed nihil propemodum hac, fateor, profeci industria; omnibus enim decursis, inops remansi scientiæ, quippe ante non inveniens quod legerem, quam lecturire desinerem. Quæcunque vero de quatuor regnis ad liquidum edidici, primo libro indidi; in quibus, ut spero, non erubescet veritas, etsi forte alicui suboriatur dubietas. Nunc usque ad adventum Normannorum regni West-Saxonici monarchiam, per succedentium invicem regum genesim, deducam. Quæ si quis oculo bono videre dignabitur, hanc sub fraterna caritate regulam teneat; 'Si ista tantum ante noverit, non fastidiat quod scripserim; si plura didicerit, non succenseat quod non dixerim:' immo, dum vivo, mihi cognoscenda communicet, ut meo stylo apponantur saltem in margine quæ non occurrerunt in ordine.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

SUPERIORI volumini hic terminus obvenit, qui quatuor regna Britanniæ in unum coarctaret. Cujus potentiæ auctor [1] Egbirhtus, regis Inæ de fratre Inegildo abnepos, amplo apud suos loco natus, et ingenue educatus a pueritia, inter West-Saxones emicuit. Continuatio virtutum incendit invidiam; et, quod fere a natura comparatum est ut reges iniquo intuitu aspiciant si quos in spem regni adolescere videant, Brihtricus, [2] ut prædictum est, suspectum habens memorandæ indolis juvenem, e medio tollere cogitabat. Quod Egbirhtus præsentiens, ad Offam regem Merciorum fuga lapsus est; quem dum ille sedula diligentia obumbraret, consecuti sunt Brihtrici nuncii qui perfugam ad supplicium repeterent, habentes in manibus traditionis pretium. Accedebat quod suo regi [3] filiæ ipsius postulabant nuptias, ut genialis thori fœdus perpetuas inter eos contineret amicitias. Ita Offa, qui bellicis minis non cederet, ad blanditias connivente,

Ecgberht, king of Wessex.

A.D. 787.

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[1] *Egbirhtus, regis Inæ de fratre Inegildo abnepos.*] Ecgberht was the son of Ealhmund, son of Eafa, son of Eoppa, son of Ingild, the brother of Ini, king of Wessex. See post, § 116, p. 172.

[2] *Ut prædictum est.*] § 43, p. 59.

[3] *Filiæ ipsius postulabant nuptias.*] See p. 59, note [6].

A.D. 798. Egbirhtus, transnavigato mari, [1] Franciam venit; quod Dei consilio factum intelligo, ut vir ille, ad tantum regnum electus, regnandi disciplinam a Francis acciperet. Est enim gens illa et exercitatione virium, et comitate morum, cunctarum occidentalium facile princeps. Hac igitur contumelia Egbirhtus [2] ut cote usus est, qua, detrita inertiæ rubigine, aciem mentis expediret, et mores longe a gentilitia barbarie alienos indueret. Itaque, [3] defuncto Brihtrico, frequentibus suorum nunciis Britanniam reversus, moxque imperare jussus, patriæ desideriis satisfecit, [4] anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo; regnante in Francia Karolo magno anno tricesimo quarto, qui etiam duodecim annis supervixit. Interea Egbirhtus, cum clementia et mansuetudine subjectorum amorem redemisset, [5] prima virium documenta in Britannos, qui eam insulæ partem [6] habitant quæ Cornu-gualliæ dicitur, dedit; qui-

A.D. 802.

A.D. 813.

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[1] *Franciam venit.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that, before Ecgberht was king, Offa of Mercia and Beorhtric of Wessex drove him into France for three years. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 836.)

[2] *Ut cote usus est, qua, detrita inertiæ rubigine.*]
—Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors
ipsa secandi.
Hor. Ars Poet. 304.

[3] *Defuncto Brihtrico.*] See p. 60, note [2].

[4] *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo ... duodecim annis supervixit.*] Malmesbury has been here betrayed into an anachronism by following the Saxon Chronicle, which places the accession of Ecgberht in the year 800, instead of 802. The commencement of the reign of Charlemagne is usually dated from the 24th September, A.D. 768, when he succeeded to a portion of the French monarchy; consequently the thirty-fourth year of his reign was completed in September 802 (the year in which Ecgberht undoubtedly ascended the throne). He died on the 28th of January 814, having, as Malmesbury observes, survived Ecgberht's accession twelve years. See p. 60, note [3].

[5] *Prima virium documenta in Britannos . . . dedit.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle, Ecgberht spread devastation in West-Wales from east to west, A.D. 813. Matthew of Westminster assigns the year 808 to the conquest of Cornwall by Ecgberht.

[6] *Habitant.*] *D.E.M.*; inhabitant, *A. S. L.*

bus subjugatis, [1]Aquilonales Britannos, qui à prædictis brachio maris dividuntur, tributarios fecit. Harum victoriarum fama cum reliquos territaret, Bernulfus rex Merciorum, tumidum quid spirans, gloriosumque arbitratus si audacia sua cæterorum metum demeret, bellum Egbirhto indixit. Ille, gloriæ damnum ducens si cederet, occurrit alacriter; consertaque pugna fugit Bernulfus, victus miserabiliter. Factum est hoc bellum apud Hellendune, anno Domini [2]octingentesimo vicesimo sexto. Hoc eventu West-Saxo elatus, animumque ad altiora extendens, fervente adhuc victoria, Ethelwulfum filium, cum Alstano episcopo Scireburniæ et electa manu, Cantiam misit, qui provinciam, seu longo sopitam otio, seu virtutum suarum exanimatam, nuncio dominatui West-Saxonico adjicerent.

A.D. 828.

A.D. 824.

§ 107. Missi efficaciter imperatis instituerunt, regionemque, quaquaversum finibus suis cingitur, pervagati; minimoque labore Baldredo rege ultra Tamesim fluvium expulso, Cantiam, Sudreiam,

Union of the kingdoms, A.D. 824.

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[1] *Aquilonales Britannos . . . . . tributarios fecit.*] The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and others, place this event in the year 828.

[2] *Octingentesimo vicesimo sexto.*] *A. D. E. M.*; octingentesimo vicesimo quarto, *L.*; octingentesimo vicesimo quinto, *C.*; octingentesimo sexto, *S.* — The battle of Ellandune was fought A.D. 824, as one MS. correctly reads. The MS. followed in the text not only dates this battle two years later than the best authorities, but makes it also subsequent to an event which, even according to the statement in the text, it must have preceded. The subjugation of Kent by Ecgberht in 824 is there stated to have taken place in the twenty-fourth year of his reign; but according to the more correct computation, which places the commencement of Ecgberht's reign in January 802, the defeat of Beornuulf of Mercia, and the expulsion of Baldred from the throne of Kent, must both have occurred in the twenty-second year of Ecgberht's reign, A.D. 824. Malmesbury, however, adopting the year 800 as the date of Ecgberht's accession, incorrectly, though consistently with his statement, probably wrote and considered 824 to be the twenty-fourth regnal year of Ecgberht.

Australes et Orientales Saxones, qui quondam ad antecessorum suorum jus pertinebant, suæ parti subdidere anno regni ejus vicesimo quarto. Nec multo post Orientales Angli, auxilio Egbirhti
A.D. 825. animati, [1]reges Merciorum Bernulfum et Ludecanum, continuatis exceptos insidiis, trucidarunt. Causa cædis fuit, quod ipsi solita contumacia fines externos inquietarent. Eorum successor
A.D. 826. [2]Withlafius, primo ab Egbirhto regno fugatus, mox
A.D. 827. in fidem tributariam acceptus, principatum West-Saxonum ampliavit. [3]Eodem anno Northanhimbri, qui se solos remansisse, et omnium digito notari, cernerent, timentes ne diu conceptam iram in ipsos effunderet, tandem vel sero datis obsi-
A.D. 829. dibus faverunt deditioni. [4]Ita tota Britannia potitus, reliquum vitæ per annos novem tranquille
A.D. 833. cucurrit, nisi quod extremis fere diebus [5]manus Danorum piratica, litoribus ejus appulsa, otium regni fœdavit. Ita versatur humanarum rerum alea, ut, primus omnibus Anglis imperitans, cognatorum obsequium posset parvi pendere, dum externus hostis se suosque hæredes non [6]desine-

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[1] *Reges Merciorum Bernulfum et Ludecanum.*] Beornuulf was slain A.D. 825, and Ludeca in the same year.

[2] *Withlafius . . . regno fugatus.*] Uuiglâf, being expelled by Ecgberht A.D. 827, was restored in the following year, but held his kingdom only as tributary to the crown of Wessex.

[3] *Eodem anno Northanhimbri . . . datis obsidibus faverunt deditioni.*] Ecgberht led an army to Dore against the Northumbrians, and they there offered him obedience and allegiance, A.D. 827. (Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.)

[4] *Ita tota Britannia potitus.*] Ecgberht was crowned king of Britain, in a great council held at Winchester, A.D. 829, by general consent of the whole nation. The annals of Winchester (Dom. A. 13) state that he there ordered that Britain should thereafter be called England, and they who had been before denominated Jutes, or Saxons, should for the future be called Englishmen.

[5] *Manus Danorum piratica . . . otium regni fœdavit.*] 'A.D. 833, arrived thirty-five ships of Danish pirates, whom Ecgberht encountered at Carrum, (Charmouth, in Dorsetshire,) and, after great slaughter, the Danes remained masters of the field.' (Sax. Chron.)

[6] *Desineret.*] *S. C. D. E.*; sineret, *A. L.*

ret incessere; contra quos cum copiæ Anglorum constitissent, non solito lenocinio fortuna regem adulata, in ipso conatu destituit: siquidem cum meliore parte diei victoriam pene occupasset, jam prono in oceanum sole palmam amisit; sed tamen, beneficio [1] tenebrarum adjutus, victi dedecus evasit. [2] Sequenti plane prælio ingentem multi- A.D. 835.
tudinem parva manu fudit. Postremo [3] post annos A.D. 839.
triginta et septem et menses septem decessit, sepultusque est Wintoniæ, magnas laudum occasiones filio relinquens, felicemque fore pronuncians si regnum, quod multa texuerat industria, ille consueta genti illi non interrumperet ignavia.

DE REGE ETHELWULFO.

§ 108. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [4] octingen- Aetheluuulf, A.D. 839.
tesimo tricesimo septimo Ethelwulfus, (quem quidam Athulfum vocant,) filius Egbirhti, regnavit [5] viginti annis et mensibus quinque; natura lenis,

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[1] *Tenebrarum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; noctis vel tenebrarum, *C.*

[2] *Sequenti plane prælio ingentem multitudinem parva manu fudit.*] At the battle of Hengston, in Cornwall, fought A.D. 835, when the Danish fleet, assisted by the inhabitants, was defeated and put to flight by Ecgberht.

[3] *Post annos triginta et septem et menses septem decessit.*] *C. E. L.*; after ' annos,' *A. S. D.* read ' regni.'—See the charter of King Ecgberht, (Cod. Dip. Ævi Sax. No. CCXL. p. 318,) dated A.D. 838, and confirmed by his son Aetheluulf, A.D. 839, which year is described as the first of his reign after his father's death. If the length of Ecgberht's reign be correctly stated here and in the Saxon Chronicle, his death could not have happened before August, A.D. 839. Simeon of Durham assigns thirty-six years only to the reign of Ecgberht, and Florence of Worcester states that he died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign.

[4] *Octingentesimo tricesimo septimo.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; *C.* omits ' septimo.'—Aetheluulf's accession must be placed about the month of August, A.D. 839. Malmesbury, in following the Saxon Chronicle, is again two years earlier than the northern chroniclers.

[5] *Viginti annis et mensibus quinque.*] In this computation Malmesbury probably includes the period that Aetheluulf reigned during his father's life. The Saxon Chronicle assigns only eighteen years and a half to his reign; which, being reckoned from his accession in August 839,

et qui sub quiete degere, quam multis provinciis imperitare, mallet: denique, avito West-Saxonum regno contentus, cætera quæ pater subjugaverat appendicia filio[1] Ethelstano contradidit, qui quando et quo fine defecerit incertum. [2] Burhredum regem A.D. 853. Merciorum [3] additamento exercitus contra Bri- A.D. 854. tones juvit, et [4] filiæ nuptiis immane quantum exaltavit. Piratas Danorum per totam insulam vagantes, et inopinatis appulsionibus litora omnia infestantes, [5] non semel per se et duces suos contudit; quamvis, ut est tessera bellorum, ipse in iisdem frequentes et insignes calamitates ac- A.D. 851. ceperit, [6] Londonia et omni pene Cantia vastata. Obsistebat tamen semper ærumnis consiliariorum regis vivacitas, qui nihil unquam hostes impune delinquere paterentur, quin communi umbone in eos ulciscerentur. Habebat enim duos suo tempore præcellentes præsules, [7] beatum Swithunum dico Wintoniæ, et [8] Alstanum, Scireburniæ: hi, videntes regem crassioris et hebetis ingenii, sedulis

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would place his death rightly in the year 858. 'Idibus Januarii,' (13th Jan.) according to Florence of Worcester.

[1] *Ethelstano.*] Aethelstân was by his father made king of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, in 839.

[2] *Burhredum regem . . . contra Britones juvit.*] Burgred, king of Mercia, obtained the assistance of Aetheluulf against the Welsh in the year 853; and in the following year, after Easter, Aetheluulf gave him his daughter Ethelsuuitha in marriage.

[3] *Additamento.*] *D. E. M.*; et additamento, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Filiæ nuptiis immane quantum exaltavit.*] *E. L.*; non parum exaltavit, *A. S. D. M.*; non mediocriter exaltavit, *C.*—Asser relates that the marriage was kept with great solemnity at Chippenham, in Wiltshire.

[5] *Non semel per se et duces suos contudit.*] In 845 the Danes were defeated near the river Parret in Somersetshire, and again, in 851, at Wicgambeorg in Devonshire.

[6] *Londonia et omni pene Cantia vastata.*] This happened, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 851; but, after the Danes had passed the Thames into Surrey, Aetheluulf with an army met and defeated them at Ockley.

[7] *Beatum Swithunum dico Wintoniæ.*] St. Swithune was appointed by King Ecgberht preceptor to his son Aetheluulf. He became bishop of Winchester in 838, and died on 2nd of July 862.

[8] *Alstanum, Scireburniæ.*] Ealhstân was bishop of Sherborne in 817, and died in 867.

admonitionibus ad scientiam regnandi stimulabant. Swithunus, in terrenis nauseans, dominum ad cœlestia informabat; Alstanus, forensia quoque non negligenda ratus, eundem contra Danos animabat, ipse pecunias fisco sufficiens, ipse exercitum componens. Multa per illum in talibus, et inchoata constanter et terminata feliciter, [1]qui annales legerit, inveniet. Vixit in episcopatu annis quinquaginta, beatus qui tanto tempore in procinctu bonorum operum fuerit; quem libenter laudarem, nisi quod, humana cupiditate [2]raptus, indebita usurpavit quando monasterium Malmesbiriense suis negotiis substravit. Sentimus ad hunc diem impudentiæ illius calumniam, licet locus idem statim, eo mortuo, omnem illam eluctatus fuerit violentiam [3]usque ad nostrum tempus, quando in idem discrimen recidit. [4]Ita sacra fames avaritiæ mortalia pectora exedit; ita magnificos, et illustres in cæteris, viros in Tartara trudit.

§ 109. Ethelwulfus duobus sustentatoribus fretus, et exteriora bene providere et interiora non despuere, post triumphatos scilicet hostes, ad Dei cultum versus, [5]decimam omnium hydarum infra regnum suum Christi famulis concessit, li-

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[1] *Qui annales legerit.*] Consult the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 823—845.

[2] *Raptus.*] *D. E.*; raptatus, *A. C. L.*; captatus, *S.*

[3] *Usque ad nostrum tempus, quando in idem discrimen recidit.*] Malmesbury here alludes to the seizure of his monastery, in the year 1118, by Roger bishop of Salisbury.

[4] *Ita sacra fames.*] Virg. Æn. III. 56.

[5] *Decimam omnium hydarum ... concessit.*] The grant of tithes by King Aetheluulf has given rise to much controversy. See the charter, dated at Wilton on Easter-day (April 22), Indict. II. A.D. 854. (MS. Cott. Claudius C. IX.) The charter, which occurs postea § 114, is to be found also in Matthew of Westminster and Ingulph. Spelman conjectures that the grant was twice made; first in the year 854, and confirmed by the pope when Aetheluulf went to Rome; and afterwards upon his return from Rome in a great council of the kingdom.

beram ab omnibus functionibus, absolutam ab omnibus inquietudinibus. Sed quantula est hæc ejus gloria? Romam, composito regno, abiit; ibique [1]tributum, quod Anglia hodieque pensitat, sancto Petro obtulit [2]coram quarto Leone papa, qui etiam antea [3]Elfredum filium ejus ad se missum honorifice susceperat, et regem inunxerat. Ibi ergo anno integro moratus, [4]Scholam Anglo-

He goes to Rome, A.D. 855.

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[1] *Tributum . . . sancto Petro obtulit.*] The Rome-scot, or Peter's pence, is here evidently alluded to as the tribute yet paid to Rome by England. Its origin and application are obscure; Spelman defines it to be an annual payment to Rome at the feast of St. Peter of one penny from each family. The grant appears to have been made after Aetheluulf's return to England, by what Asser calls a commendatory epistle, in which he ordered three hundred mancuses to be sent annually to Rome; one third of which the pope himself was to have, the remainder to be equally distributed between the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, to provide lights on Easter-eve. This grant is supposed by Spelman to have been made in a general council of the nation.

[2] *Coram quarto Leone papa.*] Aetheluulf's journey to Rome took place in the year 855, whither he was accompanied by his son Aelfred. If the name of the pontiff who presided at the time of this visit be here correctly stated, Aetheluulf's departure must have been before the 17th July in that year, the date of Leo's decease: this circumstance, however, would throw discredit on the date affixed to Aetheluulf's charter of tithes (as found in Ingulph), which most authorities affirm to have been granted before his departure for Rome. See p. 172, note [1].

[3] *Elfredum filium ejus ad se missum.*] Aelfred's first mission to Rome was in the year 853, when Pope Leo anointed him king *in successionem paterni regni*, and adopted him for his episcopal son. Asser relates that the pope anointed Aelfred as a prophetical presage of his future royal dignity, and stood sponsor for him.

[4] *Scholam Anglorum . . . reparavit egregie.*] Matthew of Westminster (A.D. 727) states that the English School at Rome was founded by Ini, king of Wessex, with the consent and approbation of Pope Gregory. Of this institution it is believed there is no early authentic account. The Angle-School was a quarter near St. Peter's, where the English pilgrims at Rome resided; it was destroyed by fire, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 816; but the conflagration here referred to is probably that mentioned by Anastasius as having taken place in the Saxon street at Rome soon after the accession of Leo IV. Leo sat from 847 till the 17th July 855: the end, therefore, rather than the commencement of his pontificate would best accord with the statement in the text. (Anastas. Bibliothecar. in Vitis Pontificum.)

rum, quæ (ut fertur) ab Offa rege Merciorum primitus instituta proximo anno conflagraverat, reparavit egregie. Inde domum per Gallias repatrians, [1]Judith filiam Karoli regis Francorum in conjugium sumpsit.

[2]DE SUCCESSORIBUS KAROLI MAGNI.

§ 110. Siquidem [3]Lodowicus Pius, Karoli magni filius, quatuor filios habuit; Lotharium, Pippinum, Lodowicum, Karolum cognomento Calvum: quorum [4]Lotharius, etiam patre vivente, nomen imperatoris usurpans, [5]regnavit annis quindecim in ea quæ jacet juxta Alpes parte Germaniæ, et nunc Lotharingia (quasi regnum Lotharii) dicitur, et in tota Italia cum Roma. In extremo vitæ adversa valetudine vexatus, seculo renun-

Emperor Louis I, A.D. 814.

Emperor Lothaire, A.D. 840.

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[1] *Judith filiam Karoli regis Francorum in conjugium sumpsit.*] Aetheluulf's marriage with Judith, daughter of Charles le Chauve, took place at the palace of Verberies on the 1st of October 856.

[2] *De successoribus Karoli magni.*] Malmesbury appears to have copied great part of this account from a contemporary chronicle (ex libro Monasterii S. Wandregisili), brought down to the year 877; and also to have consulted the chronicle of Adon, archbishop of Vienna (A.D. 865—875), and that of Hariulfe, a monk of St. Riquier, who wrote A.D. 1088.—(Fragmentum ex lib. Mon. S. Wandreg. extans in Cod. MS. Abbatiæ S. Victoris, Paris. Num. 419; Bouquet, VII. 44.—Chron. Adonis, edit. Paris. 1522 et 1561; Lugdun. 1677, in Bibliothecis Patrum. — Chron. Hariulfi, apud Acherium, tom. II. Spicilegii; fol. Paris. 1723.)

[3] *Lodowicus Pius.*] Louis the Pious, called also Le Débonnaire, was associated with his father, Charlemagne, in the empire of the West, September, A.D. 813; and succeeded as sole emperor and king of France, 28th Jan. 814. He died 20th June 840.

[4] *Lotharius, etiam patre vivente, nomen imperatoris usurpans.*] Lothaire, eldest son of the emperor Louis I, was during his father's life declared king of France, and associated with him in the empire, July, A.D. 817. He was made king of Italy in the year 820; and, on Easter day (5th April) 823, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope.

[5] *Regnavit annis quindecim.*] Lothaire reigned fifteen years and three months, reckoned from his father's death, A.D. 840, when he became sole emperor of the West. He died in the abbey of Pruim, in Ardennes, on the 29th Sept. 855, having taken the monastic habit only six days before.

Successors of Charlemagne.

ciavit; vir omnium ante se longe immanissimus, quippe qui [1]proprium patrem crebro captivatum in ergastulis vinxerit. Erat sane ille mansueti animi et simplicis; sed quia mortua Ermengarda, de qua priores liberos tulerat, [2]Karolum ex Judith uxore natum arctius exosculabatur, a Lothario inclementer exagitatus. [3]Pippinus, alter filius Lodowici, regnavit in Aquitania et Wasconia. [4]Lodowicus, tertius filius Lodowici, [5]præter Noricam quam habebat, tenuit regna quæ pater suus illi dederat, id est, Alemanniam, Turingiam, Austragiam, Saxoniam, et Avarorum, id est [6]Hunorum, regnum. [7]Karolus vero medietatem Franciæ ab occidente, et [8]totam Neustriam, Brittaniam, et

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[1] *Proprium patrem . . . in ergastulis vinxerit.*] The emperor Louis I. was twice confined by his sons in the monastery of St. Médard, de Soissons; first in the year 830, and again in 833.

[2] *Karolum ex Judith uxore natum.*] Lothaire, Louis, and Pepin were the sons of Louis le Débonnaire by his first wife, Hermengarde, daughter of Count Ingram: after her death (3rd Oct. 818) the emperor espoused Judith, daughter of Guelphe, duke of Ravensperg. Charles, called Le Chauve, was the issue of this marriage.

[3] *Pippinus.*] Pepin I. governed the kingdom of Aquitaine from the year 814, but was not recognised as king of that country until the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, in July 817. He died 13th December, A.D. 838.

[4] *Lodowicus.*] Louis, called Le Germanique, brother of the emperor Lothaire. He was made king of Bavaria, A.D. 817; and died at Frankfort, 28th of August 876.

[5] *Præter Noricam.*] The passages beginning 'Lodowicus, præter Noricam,' and ending with 'exilio detrusus,' occur, in the chronicle from which Malmesbury copied, after 'diviserunt inter se Francorum imperium,' in lieu of the words 'ut supra diximus.' (Fragment. ex lib. Mon. S. Wandregisili.)

[6] *Hunorum.*] 'Hunorum seu Ungarorum,' Frag. S. Wandreg.

[7] *Karolus.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; Karolus quartus, (? Calvus,) *D. M.*—Charles le Chauve succeeded his father, Louis le Débonnaire, in the kingdom of France 20th June 840. His brother Lothaire disputed with him the succession, but in 843 the crown of France fell to the share of Charles by agreement.

[8] *Totam Neustriam . . . Aquitaniam.*] 'The divisions of France were liable to considerable variation; but it may be sufficient to observe that Aquitaine lay between the Garonne and Loire; Vasconia, from the Garonne to the Pyrenees along the coast to the eastward; Austrasia, or East France, besides various tracts be-

maximam partem Burgundiæ, Gothiam, Wasconiam, Aquitaniam, [1]submoto inde Pippino filio Pippini, et in monasterio sancti Medardi attonso: qui postea inde per fugam elapsus, et Aquitaniam regressus, multo tempore fugiendo ibi latuit; iterumque, a Ranulfo [2]præfecto [3]perfide deceptus, comprehensus est, et ad Karolum [4]adductus Silvanecto, perpetuo est exilio [5]detrusus. [6]Post mortem vero Lodowici piissimi imperatoris, Lotharius, ante obitum patris decem et octo annis unctus ad imperatorem, contra fratres suos, id est, Lodowicum [7]piissimum regem Baioariorum, et Karolum, exercitum duxit; adjuncto sibi Pippino cum Aquitanorum populo in pago [8]Autisiodorensi, in

Successors of Charlemagne.

A.D. 841.

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yond the Rhine, lay between that river and the Meuse; Neustria, or West France, from the Channel to the Loire, with the exception of Brittanny.' (Sharpe, p. 114.) Neustria included the country afterwards called Normandy.

[1] *Submoto inde Pippino.*] Upon the death of Pepin I. king of Aquitaine, in December 838, the emperor Louis gave that kingdom to his youngest son, Charles le Chauve; but Pepin, the late king's son, then but a child, disputed with him the crown, and retained the title of king of Aquitaine. In 852 Pepin was made a monk in the monastery of S. Médard; but, having thence escaped back to Aquitaine in 855, he was betrayed by Rainulf, earl of Poitou, in 864, and brought to Charles, who then confined him in the prison of Senlis, where he shortly after died. See Chron. Adonis Archiep. Viennens.

[2] *Præfecto.*] Malmesb. and Frag. S. Wandreg.; 'præfato,' Chron. Adon.

[3] *Perfide.*] *S. D. M.* and Frag. S. Wandreg.; 'per fidem,' *A. C. E. L.* and Chron. Adon.

[4] *Adductus.*] *A. D. E. L.*; deductus, *S. C.*

[5] *Detrusus.*] 'Dampnatus,' Frag. S. Wandreg.

[6] *Post mortem vero Lodowici piissimi imperatoris.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *S.*—The text from this passage to the account of the death of the emperor Charles le Chauve, 'tertio nonas Octobris, indictione decima, anno Domini nostri octingentesimo septuagesimo septimo,' is copied verbatim from the Chronicle of S. Vandregisile. (Frag. ex lib. Monast. S. Wandregisili.)

[7] *Piissimum.*] Probably interpolated in the MSS. The word does not occur in the fragment of the chronicle before referred to, nor is the epithet usually applied to Louis, king of Bavaria: the emperor Louis, his father, obtained the surname of Pious, or Le Débonnaire.

[8] *Autisiodorensi.*] Auxerre.

Successors of Charlemagne. loco qui vocatur Fontanetum: in quo loco cum Franci, cum omnibus nationibus sibi subjectis, mutua se cæde prosternerent, ad ultimum Lodowicus et Karolus, Lothario fugato, [1]triumphum adepti sunt. [2]Post cruentissimum vero prælium, A.D. 843. pace inter eos facta, diviserunt inter se Francorum imperium, [3]ut supra diximus. Lotharius vero, ex [4]Ermengarda filia Hugonis, tres filios habuit, [5]id est, [6]Lodowicum, cui regnum Romanorum et Italiam tradidit; alterum autem [7]Lotharium, cui

[1] *Triumphum adepti sunt.*] *C. D. E.*; triumphaverunt, *A. S.*; triumphati sunt, *L.*

[2] *Post cruentissimum vero prælium.*] The memorable battle of Fontenai, one of the most calamitous in the annals of France, was fought 25th June, A.D. 841, when the emperor Lothaire and his nephew, Pepin II. king of Aquitaine, were defeated by Charles le Chauve, assisted by his brother, Louis of Bavaria. In 843, the estates of the emperor Louis were divided by agreement among the three brothers. Lothaire retained the empire, and the kingdoms of Italy, Lorraine, Provence, and Burgundy. Louis had Bavaria, Germany, Thuringia, Saxony, Pannonia, or Hungary; and Charles, the kingdom of France, Neustria, Brittanny, part of Burgundy, Gothia, Gascony, and Aquitaine. See Chron. Adon. Arch. Viennens. and Hariulfi Chron. lib. III. c. 6.

[3] *Ut supra diximus.*] The fragment of the Chronicle of S. Vandregisile here reads, 'Et Lotharius quidem accepit regnum Romanorum, et totam Italiam, et partem Franciæ orientalem, totamque Provinciam. Ludovicus vero præter Noricam,' &c. as far as 'perpetuo est exilio detrusus.'

[4] *Ermengarda.*] Hermengarde, daughter of Count Hugh, was married to the emperor Lothaire in October, A.D. 821, and died 20th March 851.

[5] *Id est.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; primum, *S.*

[6] *Lodowicum.*] Louis II, crowned king of Italy by Pope Sergius in 844, was associated with his father, Lothaire, in the empire after February in 849; received the imperial crown from Pope Leo, A.D. 850; and became sole emperor of the West in 855. He died without male issue, on the 6th of August 875; and was succeeded by his uncle, Charles le Chauve.

[7] *Lotharium, cui sedem imperialem reliquit.*] i. e. Lorraine, *regnumLotharii.*—See Adonis Chron. 'Lotharius imperator, infirmari se conspiciens, regnum inter filios dividit. Carolo, minori, Provinciam et partem Burgundiæ; Lothario, medio filio, sedem suam; Lodowico imperatori Italiam consignari jubet.' Compare also the Annals of Metz, and the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus. It has been questioned whether the kingdom of Lorraine obtained its name from Lothaire the emperor, or from his son Lothaire. King Lothaire died at Plesaunce, on the 8th of August, A.D. 869.

sedem imperialem reliquit; tertium vero [1] Karolum, cui Provinciam gubernandam [2] dimisit. Decessit quoque Lotharius anno incarnationis Domini [3] nostri Jesu Christi octingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, imperii [4] sive regni sui [5] tricesimo tertio. Post cujus obitum Karolus filius ejus, qui gubernabat Provinciam, [6] octavo anno moritur. Dehinc [7] Lodowicus imperator Romanorum, et Lotharius, fratres, regnum ejus, hoc est Provinciam, inter se dispartiunt. Lodowicus autem rex Noricorum, id est, Baioariorum, [8] Lodowici imperatoris filius, anno incarnationis Domini octingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, post festivitatem paschalem [9] regnum suum inter filios suos divisit, et [10] Karlomanno quidem dedit Noricam, id est, Baioariam, et Marcas contra Sclavos et Longobardos; [11] Lodowico vero Turingiam, Austrasios Francos, et Saxoniam dimisit; [12] Karolo quoque

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A.D. 855.

A.D. 863.

Emperor Louis II, A.D. 855.

Louis of Bavaria.

A.D. 865.

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[1] *Karolum.*] Charles, youngest son of the emperor Lothaire, king of Provence.

[2] *Dimisit.*] *A. D. E. L.*; commisit, *S. C.*

[3] *Nostri Jesu Christi.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[4] *Sive regni.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[5] *Tricesimo tertio.*] Thirty-two years and six months, reckoned from his acceptance of the imperial crown from Pope Pascal I.

[6] *Octavo anno moritur.*] Charles commenced his reign in Provence, A.D. 855; and died in 863, without children.

[7] *Lodowicus . . . dispartiunt.*] The emperor Louis II, and Lothaire king of Lorraine, divided their brother's estates between them. Louis had Provence and the part of Burgundy beyond Mount Jura; Lothaire obtained the remainder. See Chron. Adonis Archiep. Viennens.

[8] *Lodowici.*] Louis the Pious.

[9] *Regnum suum inter filios suos divisit.*] This division in the year 865 is not mentioned by any other ancient French writer, with the exception of Hariulfe, who probably derived his statement from the same source with Malmesbury, viz. the Chronicle of S. Vandregisile. The three sons of Louis, king of Bavaria, upon his death in 876, succeeded severally to his estates.

[10] *Karlomanno.*] Carloman, king of Bavaria, who died 22nd March 880.

[11] *Lodowico.*] Louis, king of Germany, Saxony, and Austrasia, succeeded his father, Louis of Germany, A.D. 876, and died 20th Jan. 882.

[12] *Karolo.*] Charles, king of Suabia, called Le Gros, subsequently became emperor of the West and king of France.

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Alemanniam et Curwalam, id est, comitatum [1] Cornu-gualliæ, reliquit. Ipse tamen Lodowicus super filios suos feliciter [2] regnavit in omni potestate sua annis [3] decem. Et post hæc obiit [4] Lodowicus rex anno [5] Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto, cum regnasset annis [6] quinquaginta quatuor. [7] Karolus autem rex Occidentalium Francorum, anno tricesimo sexto regni sui in Italiam pergens [8] orandi causa, ad limina apostolorum pervenit; ibique a cuncto populo Romano imperator eligitur, et a Johanne papa in imperatorem consecratur, octavo kalendas Januarii, anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo septuagesimo quinto. Inde in Galliam prospere [9] ingressus est. [10] Anno quoque regni sui tricesimo octavo, et [11] imperii tertio inchoante, in Italiam iterum perrexit; et colloquio Johannis papæ usus, in Galliam revertens, [12] transcenso Ciniso monte,

A.D. 876. — Charles le Chauve, A.D. 840. — A.D. 875. — A.D. 876.

[1] *Cornu-gualliæ.*] *A. D. E. L.*; Galliæ, *S. C.*—'Literally, the Horn of Gaul, from the projection of Brittanny.' (Sharpe, 116.)

[2] *Regnavit in omni potestate sua annis decem.*] The fragment of S. Vandregisile here reads, 'nunc principatum tenet anno incarnationis Domini octingentesimo sexagesimo nono.' From this may be inferred the age in which the author wrote.

[3] *Decem.*] 'Undecim,' Chron. Hariulfi.

[4] *Lodowicus rex.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; Lodowicus, *C.*; omitted in *S.*

[5] *Dominicæ incarnationis.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; incarnati Verbi, *A.*; omitted in *L.*

[6] *Quinquaginta quatuor.*] Louis, king of Bavaria, had nearly completed the fifty-ninth year of his reign, reckoned from his accession in 817.

[7] *Karolus autem rex Occidentalium Francorum.*] Charles le Chauve, king of France, succeeded his nephew, Louis II, in the empire of the West; and received the imperial crown from the hands of Pope John VIII. at Rome, on Christmas day, A.D. 875.

[8] *Orandi causa.*] *A. D. E. L.*; orationis gratia, *S. C.*

[9] *Ingressus est.*] *A. D. E. L.*; reversus est, *S. C.* and Frag. S. Wandreg.

[10] *Anno quoque regni sui.*] *A. D.E.L.*; anno autem regni, *S.C.*

[11] *Imperii tertio inchoante.*] Charles had not completed his second year. On 25th Dec. 875 he was crowned, and died 6th Oct. 877.

[12] *Transcenso Ciniso monte.*] Charles is said to have been poisoned by his Jewish physician, Sédécias, 6th Oct. 877, at Brios, a village situate to the west of Mount Cenis.

præsentis luminis caruit visu, [1]tertio nonas Octobris, indictione decima, anno [2]Domini nostri octingentesimo septuagesimo septimo: cui successit in regno [3]filius ejus Lodowicus. Deinde, anno regni sui secundo necdum expleto, idem Lodowicus obiit [4]Compendio palatio, [5]sexto idus Aprilis, indictione duodecima, anno Domini octingentesimo septuagesimo nono. Deinde filii ejus, [6]Lodowicus et Karlomannus, regnum ejus inter se dispartiunt. Prædictus vero rex Lodowicus in [7]pago Vimniaco, [8]cum Normannis bellum gerens, triumphum adeptus est; et non multo post obiit, [9]pridie nonas Augustas, anno Domini octin-

Successors of Charlemagne. A.D. 877. Emperor Louis III, A.D. 878. A.D. 879. Louis and Carloman, A.D. 879. A.D. 881. A.D. 882.

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[1] *Tertio nonas Octobris.*] So also in Hariulfe. Some of the French chronicles read 'nonas Octobris;' but the best, 'pridie nonas.'

[2] *Domini nostri.*] *A. E. L.*; Domini, *S.*; Domini nostri Jesu Christi, *D. M.*

[3] *Filius ejus Lodowicus.*] Louis II. of France, and III. of the empire, called Balbus, or Le Bègue, was crowned king at Compiègne, 8th Dec. 877, and emperor A.D. 878.

[4] *Compendio.*] *C. D. E. L.*; in Compendio, *A. S.*

[5] *Sexto idus Aprilis.*] 'Quinto idus,' Chron. Hariulfi.—The best writers state that Louis le Bègue died at Compiègne on the 10th of April (quarto idus Aprilis), A.D. 879.

[6] *Lodowicus et Karlomannus.*] Louis III. and Carloman jointly succeeded in the kingdom of France on the death of their father, Louis le Bègue: the former had France and Neustria; the latter, Burgundy and Aquitaine. Charles le Gros, son of Louis king of Bavaria, obtained the Imperial States.

[7] *Pago Vimniaco.*] Le Vimeu.

[8] *Cum Normannis bellum gerens.*] Louis defeated the Northmen, or Normans, A.D. 881, at a place called Saulcourt; when Guorm, their chieftain, was slain. It is said that in this battle King Louis sustained an internal injury, from the effects of which he afterwards died.

[9] *Pridie nonas Augustas . . . quinta decima.*] Malmesbury follows Hariulfe in placing the death of Louis III. of France on the 4th of August, A.D. 881; and the duration of the reigns of Louis and Carloman is also computed by both historians from that year; but it must be observed that the 15th indiction did not begin until the 25th of December 881. The death of Louis is usually assigned to the 5th August 882, and the coronation of Carloman to the 9th September following; in which case Louis must have reigned three years and four months, and Carloman (who died 6th December 884) two years and three months alone, but five years and eight months from the death of his father, Louis.

Successors of Charlemagne. gentesimo octogesimo primo, indictione quintadecima. Regnavit annos duos, menses [1] tres, dies viginti quatuor. Cui successit in regno frater ejus Karlomannus. Regnavit tribus annis et [2] diebus sex; deinde in [3] Euuellino saltu, in monte A.D. 884. Aerico, a [4] fero singulari percussus est. Obiit anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo octogesimo quarto, indictione secunda, octavo idus Charles le Gros, A.D. 885. Decembris. Deinde [5] Karolus rex Suavorum, filius Lodowici regis Noricorum, monarchiam totius imperii Francorum et Romanorum assumit anno Verbi incarnati octingentesimo octogesimo quinto, indictione tertia. Cujus visionem, quia memorabilem puto, hic dignum duco intexere.

[6] VISIO KAROLI.

Charles's vision. § 111. 'In nomine Dei summi Regis regum! Ego Karolus imperator, gratuito Dei dono rex Germanorum et patricius Romanorum, atque impe-

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[1] *Tres.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; quatuor, *C.*

[2] *Diebus.*] So in all the MSS. but probably mistaken for 'mensibus:' Hariulfe writes 'tribus annis et dimidio.'

[3] *Euuellino saltu.*] The forest of Iveline.

[4] *Fero.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; fera, *S.* and Chron. Hariulfi.—In some of the French chronicles it is stated that Carloman, whilst hunting in the forest of Baisieu, was accidentally wounded by Bertholde, one of his attendants; and that, to screen him from punishment, the story of the boar was reported (Annal. Mettens. et Fuldens. continuat.; Annal. Vedastini; and Chron. de Gest. Norm. in Franc.): but Malmesbury agrees with the Saxon Chronicle, Asser, and other English writers.

[5] *Karolus rex Suavorum.*] Charles le Gros was crowned emperor of the West on Christmas day, A.D. 880; and took possession of the kingdom of France on the death of Carloman, 6th Dec. 884, to the prejudice of Charles le Simple, posthumous son of Louis le Bègue. He was recognised as king of France about the end of January 885.

[6] *Visio Karoli.*] The vision of Charles le Gros is copied by Malmesbury, verbatim, from Hariulfe's Chronicle, lib. III. c. 21 (tom. II. Spicilegii, p. 323; fol. Paris. 1723).—Alberic de Trois Fontaines gives the substance of it, and refers to Malmesbury: 'Sequitur mirabilis visio quæ facta est hoc anno, 889, (rectius 886,) eidem Karolo, secundum Willelmum Malmesbiriensem.' The annals improperly ascribed

rator Francorum, sacra nocte Dominici diei, post celebratum nocturnarum horarum divinum officium, dum irem repausationis cubitum, et vellem dormitionis carpere somnum, venit vox ad me terribiliter dicens, "Karole, exiet a te modo spiritus tuus in hora non modica:" statimque fui raptus in spiritu; et qui me sustulit in spiritu fuit candidissimus, tenuitque in manu sua [1]glomerem lineum [2]clarissimi jubar luminis emittentem, sicut solent cometæ facere quando apparent; cœpitque illum dissolvere, et dixit ad me, "Accipe filum glomeris micantis, et liga ac [3]noda firmiter in pollice tuæ dextræ manus, quia per illum duceris in labyrinthæas infernorum pœnas:" et hoc dicto præcessit me, velociter distorquens filum luciflui glomeris; duxitque me in profundissimas valles et igneas, quæ erant plenæ puteis ardentibus pice, et sulphure, plumboque, et cera, et adipe. Ibi inveni pontifices patris mei et avunculorum meorum; quos cum pavens interrogarem quid tam gravia paterentur tormenta, responderunt mihi, "Fuimus episcopi patris tui et avunculorum tuorum, et dum debuimus illos, et populum illorum, de pace et concordia admonere et prædicare, seminavimus discordias, et incentores malorum fuimus; [4]unde nunc incendimur in istis Tartareis suppliciis, et nos, et alii homicidiorum et rapinarum amatores: huc etiam

Charles's vision.

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to Asser, sub an. 886, also recite the vision of Charles le Gros: 'Karolus tertius imperator, filius Hlodwici regis Noricorum sive Boiarorum, hoc tempore vidit visionem, quam, ita ut hic constat, scriptam referebat, dicens, Ego Karolus,' &c. (Gale, III. 169.) In the French chronicles of S. Denis, and in some Latin MSS. the vision is erroneously attributed to Charles le Chauve. (Bouquet, IX. 60.)

[1] *Glomerem.*] So in all the MSS. See note [4], p. 166.

[2] *Clarissimi.*] *A. S. D. E. M.*; clarissime, *C. L.*

[3] *Noda.*] *A.C.D.E.L.*; nota, *S.*

[4] *Unde.*] *S.C.D.E.L.*; inde, *A.*

Charles's vision.

tui episcopi et satellites venient, qui similiter amant nunc facere." Et dum hæc tremibundus auscultarem, ecce, nigerrimi dæmones advolantes cum uncis igneis volebant apprehendere filum glomeris quem in manu tenebam, et ad se attrahere; sed, reverberantibus radiis illius glomeris, non valebant filum contingere. Deinde, post tergum meum currentes, voluerunt me aduncinare, et in ipsos puteos sulphureos præcipitare: sed ductor meus, qui portabat glomerem, jactavit super scapulas filum glomeris, et duplicavit illum, traxitque fortiter post [1]me; sicque ascendimus super montes altissimos igneos, de quibus oriebantur paludes et flumina ferventia, et omnia metallorum genera bullientia, ubi reperi innumeras animas hominum et principum patris mei et [2]fratrum meorum præcipitatas, alias usque ad capillos, alias usque ad mentum, alias usque ad umbilicum; clamaveruntque ad me ejulando, "Dum viximus, amavimus tecum, et cum patre tuo, et cum fratribus tuis, et cum avunculis tuis, facere prælia, et homicidia, et rapinas pro cupiditate terrena; ideo in ista bullientia flumina, et metallorum [3]diversa genera, sustinemus tormenta." Et cum ad hæc timidus intenderem, audivi retro me animas clamare, "Potentes potenter tormenta patientur." Et respexi, et vidi super ripas fluminis bullientis fornaces piceas et sulphureas, plenas magnis draconibus et scorpionibus et serpentibus diversi generis; ubi etiam vidi aliquos patris mei principes, et meos et fratrum meorum, necnon et avunculorum meorum, dicentes mihi, "Heu nobis, Karole! vides quam gravia habemus tor-

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[1] *Me.*] *E.*; se, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[2] *Fratrum meorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; after 'meorum,' *L.* reads 'et meorum,' and in the margin 'cognatorum,' probably for 'avunculorum.'

[3] *Diversa.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; diversorum, *D. M.*

menta propter nostram malitiam et superbiam, et mala consilia quæ regibus nostris et tibi dedimus propter cupiditatem." Cumque [1]hæc dolendo congemiscerem, cucurrerunt ad me dracones, apertis et plenis faucibus igne et sulphure et pice, volentes me inglutire; at ductor meus triplicavit super me filum, a cujus radiis claritatis superata sunt ora illorum ignea, et [2]pertraxit me validius. Et descendimus in unam vallem, quæ erat [3]ex una parte tenebrosa, ardens velut clibanus ignis; ex alia vero parte tam amœnissima et splendidissima ut nulla ratione dicere valeam. Vertique me contra tenebrosam et flammivomam partem, vidique ibi aliquos reges mei generis in magnis suppliciis: et tunc, nimis [4]constrictus angustia, putavi me statim in ipsis demergi suppliciis a gigantibus nigerrimis, qui ipsam vallem inflammabant cunctis generibus ignium; et valde tremens, glomeris filo illuminante oculos meos, vidi e latere vallis paulisper albescere lumen, ibique duos fontes fluere. Unus erat nimium calidus; alter vero clarus et tepidus: et erant ibi duo dolia. Cumque illuc irem, filo glomeris regente gressus meos, intuitus super unum ubi erat fervens aqua, vidi ibi genitorem meum [5]Lodowicum stare usque ad femora; et nimis dolore aggravatus, et angore perculsus, dixit ad me, "Domine meus Karole, noli timere. Scio quia revertetur rursus spiritus tuus ad corpus tuum; et permisit te Deus huc venire ut videres propter quæ peccata ego, et omnes quos vidisti, talia toleramus supplicia. Uno enim die

Charles's vision.

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[1] *Hæc.*] *C. D. E. L.*; ad hæc, *S.*; hoc, *A.*

[2] *Pertraxit.*] *S. C. E. L.*; protexit, *D. M.*; protraxit, *A.*

[3] *Ex.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; in, *D. M.*

[4] *Constrictus.*] *A. D. E. L.*; perterritus et constrictus, *S. C.*

[5] *Lodowicum.*] Louis of Bavaria.

Charles's vision.

sum in isto ferventis dolii balneo, et altero die transmutor in isto suavissimo altero aquæ dolio; et hoc fit precibus sancti Petri et sancti [1] Remigii, cujus patrociniis hactenus genus nostrum regale regnavit. Sed, si mihi subveneris cito, tu, et mei fideles episcopi et abbates, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus, missis, [2] oblationibus, psalmodiis, vigiliis, eleemosinis, velociter liberatus ero de isto aquæ bullientis dolio; nam frater meus Lotharius, et ejus filius Lodowicus, sancti Petri sanctique Remigii precibus exempti sunt de istis pœnis, et jam ducti sunt in gaudium paradisi Dei." Dixitque ad me, "Respice sinistrorsum:" cumque respexissem, vidi ibi duo dolia altissima bullientia. "Ista," inquit, "sunt tibi præparata, nisi te emendaveris, et pœnitentiam egeris de tuis nefandis delictis;" cœpique tunc graviter horrere. Cumque cerneret [3] comes meus in tanto pavore esse spiritum meum, dixit ad me, "Sequere me ad dextram luculentissimæ vallis paradisi." Et, cum graderemur, contemplatus sum ingenti claritate cum gloriosis regibus sedere Lotharium avunculum meum super lapidem topazium miræ magnitudinis, coronatum diademate pretioso, et juxta eum filium ejus Lodowicum similiter [4] coronatum. Videns me, cominus [5] accersivit, blanda voce dicens, "Karole, successor meus nunc [6] tertius in imperio Roma-

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[1] *Remigii.*] St. Remi, archbishop of Rheims, the apostle of France, who is supposed to have baptized Clovis. The commencement of his episcopate is commonly referred to the year 457, and his death to A.D. 530. (Bouquet, iv. 51, *n.* a.)

[2] *Oblationibus.*] *C. D. E. L.*; orationibus, *A. S.*

[3] *Comes.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; ductor, *S.*

[4] *Coronatum.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; corona coronatum, *D. M.*

[5] *Accersivit.*] *A. D. E. L.*; accersivit me, *S. C.*

[6] *Tertius.*] The emperor Lothaire was succeeded by his son Louis II, followed by Charles le Chauve, whom his son Louis III, called Le Bègue, succeeded; Charles le Gros was therefore fourth in succession from Lothaire.

norum, veni ad me. Scio quod per pœnalem locum venisti, ubi est pater tuus, frater meus, positus in thermis sibi destinatis; sed per misericordiam Dei citissime de illis liberabitur pœnis, sicut et nos liberati sumus, meritis sancti Petri, sanctique precibus Remigii, cui Deus magnum apostolatum dedit super reges et super gentes Francorum; qui nisi quisquiliis nostræ propaginis suffragatus fuerit et adjuverit, jam deficiet genealogia nostra regnando et imperando: unde scito quoniam tolletur ocius potestas imperii de manu tua, et postea parvissimo vives tempore." Tunc, conversus contra me, Lodowicus dixit mihi, "Imperium quod hactenus tenuisti, jure hæreditario debet recipere [1]Lodowicus filius filiæ meæ;" et, hoc dicto, visum est mihi affore in præsentiarum infantulum. Tunc, intuens eum, Lotharius [2]avus ejus dixit mihi, "Talis videtur esse infans, qualis ille puer fuit quem statuit Dominus in medio discipulorum, et dixit, '[3]Talium est regnum cœlorum: dico vobis, quia angeli eorum vident faciem patris mei qui in cœlis est.' Tu vero redde illi potestatem imperii per illud filum glomeris quod in manu tenes." Disnodans ergo filum de pollice dextræ meæ, donabam illi monarchiam omnem imperii per ipsum filum; sta-

Charles's vision.

[1] *Lodowicus filius filiæ meæ.*] Louis, surnamed L'Aveugle, son of Boson king of Provence, and Hermengarde, daughter of the emperor Louis II. Upon the death of Charles le Gros, in 888, the states were divided into five kingdoms, and Louis became king of Arles: he was crowned king of Burgundy in 890, went to Italy in 899, and was driven back by Berenger, pseudo-emperor; but returning to Rome in 900, contrary to his oath, he was taken prisoner by Berenger, and blinded, in 902. About the end of the year 900, or the beginning of 901, he was crowned emperor by Pope Benedict IV. Louis was living after the 6th of January 923, having granted a diploma of that date, in the 23rd year of his empire. He died about the year 929.

[2] *Avus.*] The emperor Lothaire was great-grandfather of Louis l'Aveugle.

[3] *Talium . . . cœlis est.*] Matth. XVIII. 10.

Charles's vision.

timque ipsum [1]glomus fulgidum sicut jubar solis coadunatum est totum in manu illius: sicque, post hoc factum mirabile, reversus est spiritus meus in corpore meo valde fessus et conterritus. Denique sciant omnes (velint an nolint) quoniam secundum destinationem Dei in manu illius revertetur totum imperium Romanorum: et quod super ipsum non prævaleo agere, præripiente me articulo vocationis meæ, Deus, qui vivorum dominatur et mortuorum, illud perficiet et confirmabit; cujus æternum et sempiternum regnum permanet sine fine in secula seculorum. Amen.'

§ 112. [2]Visionem istam, et regnorum partitionem, verbis quibus [3]scripta inveni, hic [4]apposui. Hoc ergo Karolo [5]vix duobus annis potestate integra imperii et regni functo, [6]successit in regno Karolus, filius illius Lodowici qui apud Compendium obiit. Hic est Karolus qui filiam Edwardi regis Anglorum uxorem duxit, [7]deditque Normanniam Rolloni cum filia sua Gisla, quæ esset vas pacis, [8]pigneratrix fœderis. At vero in imperio suc-

A.D. 888. Charles le Simple, A.D. 893. A.D. 919.

[1] *Glomus.*] With this exception, 'glomus' is written in the masculine gender throughout the vision. See note [4], infra.

[2] *Visionem istam . . . verbis quibus scripta inveni.*] See note [6], p. 160.

[3] *Scripta.*] *S. C. E. L.*; scriptam, *A. D. M.*

[4] *Apposui.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*—After 'apposui,' *A.* reads 'Unde et glomerem masculino genere, sicut in exemplari corrupte habebatur, posui.'

[5] *Vix duobus annis . . . functo.*] Charles did not survive two years, and died on the 12th or 13th January, A.D. 888.

[6] *Successit in regno Karolus.*] Charles, called Le Simple, posthumous son of Louis le Bègue, was crowned king of France at Rheims, 27th Jan. 893. He married Eadgiva, or Eadgyfu, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, king of England, A.D. 919; and had by her a son, afterwards Louis IV. king of France, called d'Outremer. In June 923 he was made prisoner by Herbert, count of Champagne and Vermandois; and died in prison at Peronne, on the 7th of October, A.D. 929.

[7] *Deditque Normanniam Rolloni.*] About the year 912, the Normans settled in Neustria, and Charles bestowed his daughter Gisle, or Giselle, upon Rollo, first duke of Normandy, upon condition of his embracing Christianity.

[8] *Pigneratrix fœderis.*] In allusion seemingly to the name of Charles's daughter Gisle, i. e. 'pledge.'

cessit [1]Karolo isti Arnulfus rex, de genere imperatorio, [2]tutor Lodowici pueri de quo superior visio narrat. Emperor Arnoul, A.D. 896.
Arnulfo ergo post [3]quindecim annos defuncto, successit [4]Lodowicus idem; quo mortuo, Louis IV, A.D. 899.
[5]Conradus quidam, rex Teutonicorum, imperavit. Conrad, A.D. 912.

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[1] *Karolo isti Arnulfus rex.*] Charles le Gros was succeeded in the empire by Arnoul, the natural son of Carloman king of Bavaria. Having been chosen king of Germany in the month of November 887, he was consecrated emperor by Pope Formosus before 4th April, A.D. 896.

[2] *Tutor Lodowici pueri .... narrat.*] Boson, whom Charles le Chauve had made duke of Pavia in 876, married Hermengarde in the same year, after Charles's return to France, and died on the 11th of January, A.D. 887. The son of this marriage was Louis, who may therefore have been about nine years old at his father's death, and at the time when the vision of Charles le Gros is supposed to have taken place,—the year also in which Arnoul was elected king of Germany. Louis may have been placed about this period under the care of Arnoul, but the fact is not authenticated by any ancient French writer. Hermengarde, the widow of Boson, visited Arnoul at Forcheim in the year 890; the object of which, as Mabillon conjectures, was to induce his sanction to the coronation of her son Louis, who was elected king of Burgundy in that year at the Council of Valence. (Mabillon, lib. III. Annal. Bened. Num. 47.) Upon the death of Boson, the French annals state that Louis went to the emperor Charles le Gros at Kircheim, who there admitted him to do homage, and adopted him as his son. Louis received the imperial crown from the pope in the year 901.

[3] *Quindecim annos.*] It is not apparent from what period these fifteen years are to be computed. The emperor Arnoul died 29th of November, A.D. 899, in the fifth year of his empire, having just completed the twelfth of his reign.

[4] *Lodowicus idem.*] Louis IV, son of Arnoul, is here confounded with Louis, son of Boson: it was the former who was chosen emperor by the princes of Germany upon his father's death, in 899. Though he was never recognised as emperor, upon his death Conrad was elected, and reigned in Germany till his death, 23rd Dec. A.D. 918. The emperor Louis, son of Boson, survived Conrad, king of Germany, several years.

[5] *Conradus ... imperavit.*] Upon the death of Louis IV, Conrad, count of Franconia, son-in-law of the emperor Arnoul, was chosen emperor of Germany, A.D. 912; but his authority was not recognised in Italy. Some maintain that Conrad, and his successor Henry, were never emperors, because it was then customary to consider as such those only who had received the imperial crown from the pope: the first, therefore, after the extinction of the German branch of the family of Charlemagne, who received that distinction, was Otho the Great, son of Henry, created emperor in 962.

Henry I, A.D. 919.

Huic successit [1]filius Henricus, qui misit ad Athelstanum regem Anglorum pro duabus sororibus suis Aldgitha et Edgitha; [2]quarum posteriorem filio suo Othoni collocavit, [3]alteram cuidam duci juxta Alpes nuptum dedit. Ita hodieque imperium Romanorum et regnum Francorum ab antiqua unione scissum, alterum imperatores, alterum reges habet. Sed quia multum a proposito excessi dum me juvat illustrium Francorum seriem lineatim protendere, nunc, jam inceptam viam repetens, ad Athelwulfum regrediar.

Aetheluulf returns home, A.D. 856.

§ 113. Ille, ubi post annuam peregrinationem domum venit, [4]filia Karoli Calvi in matrimonium ducta, aliter quam putabat animos quorundam offendit: siquidem Ethelbaldus filius ejus, et Scireburnensis episcopus [5]Alstanus, et Enulfus

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[1] *Filius Henricus.*] Henry, emperor of Germany, called L'Oiseleur, was son of Otho, duke of Saxony, by Liutgarde, daughter of the emperor Arnoul. See antea, p. 101, where a similar mistake occurs in calling Otho the Great grandson of Conrad. Henry died 2nd July, A.D. 936; and his son Otho succeeded by election.

[2] *Quarum posteriorem filio suo Othoni collocavit.*] Eadgitha, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, was married, A.D. 930, to Otho, afterwards king, and subsequently emperor, of Germany. She died 26th Jan. A.D. 947. (Chron. Ethelwerdi.)

[3] *Alteram cuidam duci juxta Alpes nuptum dedit.*] 'Cuipiam regi juxta Jupitereos montes.' (Chron. Ethelwerdi.) The two daughters here referred to were the children of Eadweard by Elfleda, daughter of Earl Aethelm, and consequently half-sisters of Aethelstân. Aldgitha, or Elfgiva (called in French history Adela), was married to Eblus, or Eble, son of Rainulph, count of Poitou, and duke of Aquitaine. (Bouquet, IX. 21, note [e].) She has been confounded by some modern writers with Eadgiva, another daughter of Eadweard (sister of Eadred and Eadmund), who was married to Louis l'Aveugle, son of Boson, king of Arles, described by Malmesbury at § 126 as Louis prince of Aquitaine.

[4] *Filia Karoli Calvi in matrimonium ducta.*] Judith was betrothed to Aetheluulf in the month of July, and married 1st Oct. 856. (Bouquet, VII. 72.) She must at that time have been scarce thirteen years of age, for Charles was only married to Hermengarde 12th Dec. 842.

[5] *Alstanus, et Enulfus.*] Eahlstân, bishop of Sherborne, and Eanuulf, died in the same year, A.D. 867. (Ethelwerd. Chron.)

Sumersetensis pagi comes, [1]in ejus contumeliam conjurati, regno eum proturbare nitebantur; sed, maturiori mediante consilio, regnum inter parentem et prolem divisum. Injusta ea fuit partitio. Adeo malignitas obtinuerat ut pars occidentalis melior filio, deterior orientalis patri, daretur. Veruntamen ille incredibili clementia (plusquam civile bellum formidans) æquanimiter filio cessit; provinciales, qui dignitatem ejus asserturi convenerant, leni oratione cohibens. Ita, quamvis omnis controversia pro alienigena uxore fuerit, magna illam dignatione habitam throno etiam, contra morem West-Saxonum, juxta se locabat; non enim West-Saxones reginam vel juxta regem sedere, vel reginæ appellatione insigniri, patiuntur, [2]propter malitiam Edburgæ filiæ Offæ regis Merciorum. Ea, [3]ut prædiximus, Brihtrico regi West-Saxonum nupta, benignum (ut aiunt) virum in perniciem insontum nequam consiliis armare; quos vero insimulare nequibat, potionibus noxiis intercipere. Compertum in quodam adolescentulo regi dilectissimo, quem illa veneno sustulit; confestimque Brihtricus decubuit, et decessit, quod ex potu sine reginæ nimirum conscientia prægustaverat. Effusus ergo rumor in vulgus veneficam regno excedere coegit. Illa, ad Karolum magnum profecta, forte cum uno filiorum stantem invenit; oblatis xeniis, imperator, ludibundus et joci plenus, eam quem mallet, vel se vel filium, eligere præcepit. Tum Edburga, contuitu viridis pulchritudinis, ephœbum eligente, Karolus nonnihil motus respondit: 'Si me elegisses, filium meum haberes; sed, quia filium meum elegisti, nec me nec illum habebis.'

Account of Eádburh, A.D. 787—802.

[1] *In ejus contumeliam conjurati.*] Compare the whole of this section with Asser's Life of Aelfred, under the year 855.

[2] *Propter malitiam Edburgæ.*] Asser affirms that this story was related to him by Aelfred.

[3] *Ut prædiximus.*] § 43, p. 59.

Itaque in monasterio locatam, quo vitam opulenter transigere posset, [1]non multo post depulit stupri ream. Hujus malignitate perculsi, Saxones decretum quod dixi protulerunt; sed id Ethelwulfus benignitate sua infirmavit. Paucis vero ante mortem mensibus [2]testamentum fecit, in quo, post divisionem regni inter Ethelbaldum et Ethelbirhtum filios, filiæ quoque dotem emancipavit; semperque ad finem seculi in [3]omni suæ hæreditatis decima hida pauperem vestiri et cibari præcepit, omnique anno trecentas auri mancas Romam mitti, quarum centum beato Petro et centum beato Paulo ad luminaria, centum apostolico ad donaria, expenderentur. Biennio ergo postquam a Roma venerat supervivens [4]defungitur, et Wintoniæ in episcopatu sepelitur. Ego vero, ut ad seriem postliminio revertar, apponam [5]scriptum libertatis ecclesiarum quod toti concessit Angliæ.

Aetheluulf's will.

A.D. 858.

His charter, A.D. 855.

§ 114. 'Regnante Domino nostro in perpetuum; dum in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia, et direptiones opum nostrarum, necnon et vastan-

[1] *Non multo post depulit stupri ream.*] Eådburh, being detected in the guilt of incontinency with some one belonging to the monastery of which she was abbess, was deprived by Charlemagne, and died in a miserable state in Pavia, where she was seen by many with whom Asser had conversed begging a daily subsistence.

[2] *Testamentum fecit.*] See antea, p. 152, note [1].

[3] *Omni.*] *D. E. M.*; omnis, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Defungitur.*] Aetheluulf died A.D. 858. (Ann. Bertin. Bouquet, VII. 73; Sim. Dunelm.; and Chron. de Mailros.) 13th Jan.; in some MSS. June. (Flor. Wigorn.)

[5] *Scriptum libertatis ecclesiarum.*] Aetheluulf's grant is likewise to be found in Ingulph, and is there dated 3rd Nov. indict. III. A.D. 855. The sense seems defective in both the copies, as they appear in Malmesbury and Ingulph. Compare the charter dated on Easter day, A.D. 854. (See p. 151, note [5], and p. 172, note [1]. Ingulph writes, nevertheless, of this grant as having been made after Aetheluulf's return from Rome, which was not before the autumn of 856. It was probably only confirmed then. Asser mentions the grant of tithes under the year 855, before the king went to Rome; which agrees with Simeon, the Chronicle of Melrose, and other authorities.

tium crudelissimas deprædationes hostium, barbararum paganarumque gentium multiplices tribulationes, ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem ego Ethelwulfus rex Occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio episcoporum ac principum meorum, consilium salubre atque uniforme remedium affirmavi ut aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam ante a possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis et famulabus Dei Deo servientibus, sive [1] laicis, semper decimam mansionem ubi minimum sit, tamen partem decimam, in libertatem perpetuam perdonari dijudicavi, ut sit tuta atque munita ab omnibus secularibus servitutibus, necnon regalibus tributis, majoribus et minoribus, sive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witereden; sitque libera omnium rerum, pro remissione animarum et peccatorum nostrorum, Deo soli ad serviendum, sine expeditione et pontis instructione et arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad [2] Dominum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliqua parte levigamus.' Placuit autem tunc postea episcopis Alstano Sciremburnensis ecclesiæ, et Swithuno Wintancestrensis ecclesiæ, cum suis abbatibus et servis Dei consilium inire, ut omnes fratres et sorores nostræ ad unamquamque ecclesiam omni hebdomada, Mercurii die, hoc est, Wodnesdeg, omnis congregatio cantet quinquaginta psalmos, et unusquisque presbyter duas missas, unam pro rege Ethelwulfo, et aliam pro ducibus ejus huic dono consentientibus, pro mercede et refrigerio delictorum suorum: pro rege vivente, 'Deus qui justificas;' pro ducibus viventibus, 'Prætende Domine;' postquam autem

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[1] *Laicis.*] 'Laicis miseris' in Ingulph.

[2] *Dominum.*] *E.*; Deum, *A.S. C. D. L.*

defuncti fuerint, pro rege defuncto singulariter, pro principibus defunctis communiter: et hoc sit tam firmiter constitutum omnibus Christianitatis diebus, sicut libertas illa constituta est, quamdiu fides crescit in gente Anglorum. Scripta est autem hæc donationis cartula anno Dominicæ incarnationis [1]octingentesimo decimo quarto, indictione quarta, die [2]quinto nonas Novembris, in [3]civitate Wentana, in ecclesia sancti Petri ante altare capitale: et hoc fecerunt pro honore sancti Michaelis archangeli, et sanctæ Mariæ reginæ gloriosæ Dei genitricis; simulque et beati Petri apostolorum principis, necnon et sancti patris nostri Gregorii papæ, atque omnium sanctorum. Et tunc, pro ampliore firmitate, rex Ethelwulfus posuit cartulam supra altare S. Petri; et episcopi pro fide Dei acceperunt, et postea per omnes ecclesias transmiserunt in suis parochiis, secundum quod prædictum est.

§ 115. [4]Ab hoc Anglorum Chronica sursum versus usque ad Adam lineam generationis regum texunt, sicut Lucam evangelistam a Domino Jesu factitasse cognovimus; quod si ego etiam fecero, fortasse non erit supervacaneum, quanquam timendum sit ne barbaricorum nominum hiatus vulneret aures desuetorum in talibus.

Genealogy of the kings of Wessex.

§ 116. [5]Ethelwulfus fuit filius Egbirhti; Egbirhtus Elmundi; Elmundus Eafæ; Eafa Eoppæ;

[1] *Octingentesimo decimo quarto.*] *D. E. M.*; octingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, *A. S. C. L.*—The date is incorrect, as it seems, in all the MSS. In the charter, as it is found in Ingulph, Burgred king of Mercia, and Eådmund of East-Anglia, are named as witnesses: the former ascended the throne A.D. 852; the latter was crowned on Christmas day 854. See p. 170, note [5].

[2] *Quinto.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; quoque, *A. L.*

[3] *Civitate Wentana.*] Winchester.

[4] *Ab hoc.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; ab hoc rege, *S. C.*

[5] *Ethelwulfus fuit filius Egbirhti.*] This pedigree occurs in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 855; and in Asser, Aethelweard, and Florence of Worcester.

Eoppa Ingildi fratris Inæ regis, qui ambo filii fuere Chenredi; Chenredus Chelwaldi; Chelwaldus Cudæ; Cuda Cudwini; Cudwinus Cheaulini; Cheaulinus Chinrici; [1]Chinricus Cherdicii, qui fuit primus rex West-Saxonum; Cherdicius Elesii; Elesius Eslii; Eslius Giwii; Giwius Wigii; Wigius Frewini; Frewinus Fridegarii; Fridegarius Brondii; Brondius Beldegii: Beldegius Wodenii; de isto, ut sæpe diximus, processere reges multarum gentium: Wodenius fuit filius Fridewaldi; Fridewaldus Frelafii; [2]Frelafius Finni; Finnus Godulfi; Godulfus Getii; Getius Tetii; [3]Tetius Beowii; [4]Beowius [5]Sceldii; [6]Sceldius Sceaf. [7]Iste, ut ferunt, in quandam insulam Germaniæ Scandzam (de qua [8]Jordanes, historiographus Gothorum, loquitur) appulsus, navi sine remige, puerulus, posito ad caput frumenti manipulo, dormiens, ideoque Sceaf nuncupatus, ab hominibus regionis illius pro miraculo exceptus, et sedulo nutritus: adulta ætate regnavit in oppido quod tunc Slaswic, nunc vero Haithebi appel-

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[1] *Chinricus Cherdicii.*] *C. E.*; some MSS. of Malmesbury, Asser, and Florence of Worcester, read 'Chinricus Creodingii (Creod); Creodingius Cherdicii.'

[2] *Frelafius Finni.*] The Saxon Chronicle reads 'Frealaf son of Frithuwulf, Frithuwulf of Finn.'

[3] *Tetius.*] Saxon Chronicle, 'Tætwa;' glossed 'Phillis' in *L.*

[4] *Beowius.*] Glossed 'Assaricus' in *L.*

[5] *Sceldii.*] Glossed 'Ebrauci' in *L.*

[6] *Sceldius Sceaf.*] The Saxon Chronicle here reads 'Sceldwea of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hathra, Hathra of Hwala, Hwala of Bedwig, Bedwig of Sceaf, that is, the son of Noe.'

[7] *Iste.*] *E. L.*; iste Sceaf, *D.M.* —'Ipse Scef cum uno dromone advectus est in insula oceani quæ dicitur Scani, armis circundatus; eratque valde recens puer, et ab incolis illius terræ ignotus; attamen ab eis suscipitur, et ut familiarem diligenti animo eum custodierunt, et post in regem eligunt.' (Chron. Ethelwerdi, lib. III.)

[8] *Jordanes, historiographus Gothorum.*] Jordanes, or Jornandes, secretary to the kings of the Goths who were in Italy: he was afterwards bishop of Ravenna, and wrote two historical works, one entitled 'De Rebus Gothicis,' and the other 'De regnorum ac temporum successione.' He lived in the sixth century.

latur. Est autem regio illa Anglia Vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Britanniam, inter Saxones et Gothos constituta. [1]Sceaf fuit filius Heremodii; Heremodius [2]Stermonii; Stermonius Hadræ; Hadra Gwalæ; Gwala Bedwegii: Bedwegius [3]Strephii; hic, ut dicitur, fuit filius Noæ in arca natus.

Aethelbald, A.D. 858.

§ 117. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo duo filii Ethelwulfi [4]regnum paternum partientes, Ethelbaldus in West-Saxonia, Ethelbirhtus in Cantia, regnaverunt. Ethelbaldus, ignavus et perfidus patri, ejus thorum polluit, [5]in conjugium Judith novercæ post parentis obitum devolutus; sed [6]post quinquennium eo defuncto, et Scireburniæ condito, totum regnum ad alterum derivatum. [7]Hujus tempore manus piratarum, appulsa Hamtunam, Wintoniam urbem populosam direptioni dedit; sed mox a ducibus regiis impigre fugata,

Aethelberht, A.D. 860.

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[1] *Sceaf fuit filius Heremodii... Strephii.*] See note [6], p. 173.

[2] *Stermonii.*] 'Itermon' in Sax. Chron. and Florence of Worcester.

[3] *Strephii.*] This name does not occur in Sax. Chron., Asser, Aethelweard, nor in Florence of Worcester.

[4] *Regnum paternum partientes.*] Upon their father's death in January 858, Aethelbald reigned in Wessex, and Aethelberht in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. The former died about the month of July, A.D. 860, when his brother succeeded to the whole of his father's kingdom.

[5] *In conjugium Judith novercæ.*] It is stated in the Annals of Winchester (Angl. Sacra, vol. I. p. 204,) that, by the admonition of St. Swithune, Aethelbald repented of his incest, and separated from his mother-in-law. Judith returned to France about the year 861; which was not, however, until after the death of Aethelbald. See Annal. Bertin. an. 862. (Bouquet, VII. 77.) She married Baldwin count of Flanders, surnamed Bras de Fer, in 863.

[6] *Post quinquennium eo defuncto.*] Aethelbald reigned two years and a half during his father's life, namely, from the time of Aetheluulf's departure for Rome in 855: the two and a half years, from Jan. 858, to July 860 when he died, make up the five years assigned to his reign by Malmesbury and the Saxon Chronicle.

[7] *Hujus tempore manus piratarum.*] The Danes plundered Winchester in the year 860.

multis suorum amissis, ultra mare velivolavit, et, pelago circumgyrato, Tanatum insulam, quæ in Cantia est, elegit ad hyemandum. Cantuaritæ, A.D. 864. [1]datis obsidibus, pecuniaque promissa, quieti indulsissent, nisi, fracto fœdere, nocturnis excursionibus piratæ totam regionem popularentur; quapropter, coacto cœtu, fœdifragos expulere. [2]Ethelbirhtus, strenue dulciterque regnum [3]modulatus, naturæ debitum solvit post regni quinquennium, Scireburniæ sepultus.

§ 118. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [4]octingentesimo sexagesimo septimo Ethelredus filius Ethelwulfi regnum [5]patrium obtinuit, eodem numero [6]annorum quo fratres. Miserabili et prorsus dolenda sorte ut immatura omnes occumberent morte, nisi quod, tantis malis obstrepentibus, regii pueri magis optarent honestum exitum quam acerbum imperium. Adeo animose pro patria se certamini dabant, ut non illis imputari debeat si minus cedebat ex sententia quod in-

Aethelred, A.D. 866.

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[1] *Datis obsidibus.*] In the year 864, (Sax. Chron. A.D. 865,) Asser relates that the Danes, having wintered in the isle of Thanet, made a truce with the Kentish men, who promised them a sum of money; but, disregarding their faith, and knowing that they would obtain more by plunder than by observing peace, they ravaged all the eastern part of Kent.

[2] *Ethelbirhtus . . . post regni quinquennium.*] Aethelberht reigned in all nearly eight years, i. e. two and a half years in Kent before he succeeded to the throne of Wessex, and upwards of five years after his brother's death. He died about February, A.D. 866, and was succeeded by his brother Aethelred.

[3] *Modulatus.*] *E.*; moderatus, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[4] *Octingentesimo sexagesimo septimo.*] Malmesbury, in placing the accession of Aethelred in the year 867, is one year later than the Saxon Chronicle, Asser, and Florence of Worcester. Thorne adopts the same date as Malmesbury. If, however, the period assigned by Malmesbury to this reign, and that of Aethelberht his predecessor, be correct, Aethelred must have ascended the throne about February 866, and died 24th April 871.

[5] *Patrium.*] *C. E. L.*; paternum, *A. S. D. M.*

[6] *Annorum.*] *S. D. E.*; omitted in *A. C. L.*

tendebat audacia. Denique memoriæ [1]proditum, quod iste [2]rex novies anno uno collatis et infestis signis contra hostes conflixerit, varia licet fortuna, sæpius tamen victor; præter subitos excursus, quibus bellicæ artis gnarus populatores palantes crebro afflixit. Interfecti a parte Danorum [3]comites novem, rex unus, præterea populus sine compoto.

A.D. 871.

Battle of Aston, A.D. 871.

§ 119. Memorabilis præ cæteris pugna fuit quam apud [4]Escendune fecit; congregato namque eo loci Danorum exercitu, et in partes diviso, hinc duobus [5]regibus, illinc omnibus ducibus, rex cum fratre Elfredo adventavit. Itaque sortito par pari retulere ut Ethelredus contra reges, Elfredus contra duces consisteret. Utrorumque exercituum animis erectis, vesper jam occiduus bellum in crastinum protelavit. Vix ergo repente diluculo Elfredus paratus aderat: [6]frater, divino intentus officio, remanserat in tentorio; stimulatusque nuncio paganos efferatis mentibus irruere, negavit se quoquam progredi quoad esset finis officii. Quæ fides regis multum fratrem adjuvit, [7]immaturitate juventæ præproperum,

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[1] *Proditum.*] *A. S. E. L.*; traditum, *C. D.*

[2] *Rex novies anno uno . . . conflixerit.*] Aethelred was engaged in nine battles against the Danes before Easter, A.D. 871. (Sax. Chron.; and Asser, De Gest. Reg. Aelfredi.)

[3] *Comites novem.*] Among the earls who fell on the side of the Northmen were Sidroc the elder, who had committed so many devastations in France during the reign of Charles le Chauve. The others named in the Saxon Chronicle were the younger Sidroc; Earls Osbearn, Froena, and Harald; and King Bachsecg. Aetheluulf earl of Berkshire, and Heahmund bishop of Sherborne, were slain on the part of the English.

[4] *Escendune.*] Aston, in Berkshire.

[5] *Regibus.*] *A. S. C. L.*; omitted in *D. E. M.*—The names of the kings were Halfdan and Bachsecg (supposed to be the same as Ivar), two of the numerous progeny of Ragnar Lodbrok.

[6] *Frater, divino intentus officio.*] See Asser's Life of Aelfred, A.D. 871.

[7] *Immaturitate.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; intemeritate, *D. M.*

[1]etiam progressum: [2]namque jam acies Anglorum declinabant, et, urgentibus ex alto adversariis, fugam meditabantur, quod iniquo Christianis loco pugnaretur; cum ille, Dei cruce consignatus, ex insperato advolat, hostem proturbans, civem in arma ciens; cujus virtute simul et Dei miraculo Dani territi, pedibus salutem committentes, fugere. [3]Cæsus ibi rex Osecg, comites quinque, vulgus innumerum.

Events in Mercia, Northumbria, and East-Anglia.

§ 120. Meminerit interea lector quod interim reges Merciorum et Northanhimbrorum, captata occasione adventus Danorum, quorum bellis Ethelredus insudabat, a servitio West-Saxonum respirantes, dominationem pene suam asseruerant. Ardebant ergo cunctæ sævis [4]populatibus provinciæ; unusquisque regum inimicos magis in suis sedibus sustinere, quam compatriotis laborantibus opem porrigere, curabat: ita, dum malunt vindicare quam prævenire injuriam, socordia sua exanguem reddidere patriam. Dani sine obstaculo succrescere, dum et provincialibus timor incresceret, et proxima quæque victoria, per additamentum captivorum, instrumentum sequentis fieret. Orientalium Anglorum pagi, cum urbibus et vicis, a prædonibus possessi: [5]rex eorum sanctus Eadmundus, ab eisdem A.D. 870.

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[1] *Etiam.*] *D. E. M.*; et jam, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Namque jam.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; jam jamque, *D. M.*

[3] *Cæsus ibi rex Osecg.*] In the Saxon Chronicle and Asser this king is called Bachsecg and Bægsceg. In Danish history he is called Ivar. (Tyrr. lib. v. p. 275.)

[4] *Populatibus.*] *D. E. L.*; popularibus, *S.*; populantibus, *A.*; populationibus, *C.*

[5] *Rex eorum sanctus Eadmundus.*] Eådmund, king of East-Anglia, was beheaded by Inguar, a son of Ragnar Lodbrok, (or, according to some, a son of Ivar, and grandson of Ragnar,) 20th Nov. 870. Compare Acta SS. (tom. VII. pp. 465—472, ed. Cologn. 1575,) and Matth. Westm. Flores Histor. p. 314.

[1]interemtus, temporaneæ mortis compendio regnum emit æternum. Mercii, non semel obtriti, obsidatu miserias suas levaverunt. Northanhimbri, jamdudum civilibus dissensionibus fluctuantes, adventante hoste correxerunt discordiam. Itaque [2]Osbirhtum regem, quem expulerant, in solium reformantes, magnosque moliti paratus, obviam prodeunt, sed facile pulsi intra urbem Eboracum se includunt; qua mox a victoribus succensa, cum laxos crines effusior flamma produceret, tota depascens mœnia, ipsi quoque conflagrati patriam ossibus texere suis. Sic Northanhimbria, bellico jure obtenta, barbarorum dominium multo post tempore pro conscientia libertatis ingemuit. At vero rex Ethelredus multis laboribus infractus obiit, et Winburnæ sepultus est.

A.D. 867.

Aelfred, A.D. 871.

§ 121. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [3]octingentesimo septuagesimo secundo, Elfredus, filius Ethelwulfi junior, qui unctionem regiam et coronam [4]primus a papa Leone [5]quarto [6]olim Romæ

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[1] *Interemtus.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; interemtus anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo septuagesimo, duodecimo kalendas Decembris, *A. S.*

[2] *Osbirhtum regem, quem expulerant.*] In the spring of 867, the Northmen sailed to attack King Ella, who had usurped the throne of Deira from Osberht. The two rivals united their forces against the common enemy; but, in a battle which took place at York, the Northumbrians were entirely defeated, and Osberht and Ella were both slain. After this, Northumbria ceased to be a Saxon kingdom.

[3] *Octingentesimo septuagesimo secundo.*] Aethelred received a mortal wound in one of the battles fought against the Danes, before Easter (April 15), and died soon after, on the 24th of April 871. Aelfred then succeeded to the throne, which he held for thirty years and six months. The twenty-eight years and a half assigned to Aelfred's reign by Malmesbury and the Saxon Chronicle, even if computed from 24th April 872, would be insufficient to reach A.D. 901, the year to which Malmesbury correctly refers the death of Aelfred, and the accession of Eådweard the Elder.

[4] *Primus.*] *D. E. M.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[5] *Quarto.*] *D. E. M.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[6] *Olim Romæ susceperat.*] A.D. 853. See antea, p. 152, note 3.

susceperat, ut prædiximus, regnum accepit, et viginti [1]octo et semis annos laboriosissime sed fortissime tenuit. Laborum ejus inextricabiles labyrinthos sigillatim evolvere non fuit consilium; propterea quod sit legentium quædam confusio, gestorum per omnes annos recensitio: nam quia [2]exercitus hostilis per eum vel satellites ejus ab una parte regionis fugatus in alteram secedebat, rursusque inde pulsus alia loca petebat, omnia rapinis et cædibus complens, eum quoque scripto sequi, et, ut ita dicam, cum eo insulam circuire, forsitan quis dixerit extremæ esse dementiæ; summatim igitur omnia exponam. Continuis novem annis cum hostibus compugnans, modo incertis fœderibus illusus, modo in illudentes ultus, ad hoc tandem inopiæ coactus est, ut, vix tribus [3]pagis in fide rigentibus, id est, Hamptescire, Wiltescire, Sumerseta, etiam in insulam quandam palustri uligine vix accessibilem, vocabulo [4]Adelingia, [5]refugerit. Solebat ipse postea,

He returns to Athelney, A.D. 878.

[1] *Octo.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; novem, *A.*

[2] *Exercitus hostilis.*] The Danes, or Northmen. For an account of their progress consult the Saxon Chronicle.

[3] *Pagis.*] *S. C. D. E.*; plagis, *A. L.*

[4] *Adelingia.*] *A. E. L.*; Adelingeham, *C.*; Etherelingia, *D. M.* — (Athelney, in Somersetshire.)

[5] *Refugerit.*] Aelfred was compelled to retreat and take refuge in Selwood Forest A.D. 878; in which year, after Easter, he constructed the fortress at Athelney. During this retreat occurred Aelfred's adventure with the cowherd's wife, as related in the Annals ascribed to Asser (incorporated in some copies of his Life of Aelfred); but the story is probably due to an anonymous writer of the Life of St. Neot. As the misfortunes with which the king was at that time visited are there described as the punishment formerly foretold by St. Neot, (represented as the friend and relative of Aelfred when living,) so also is his delivery ascribed to the intervention of that saint, who afterwards appeared to him and encouraged him in a dream. This and the story of St. Cuthbert, related by Malmesbury, seem equally to be mere fictions invented by the writers of the lives of these saints. The legend of St. Cuthbert is to be found in a fragment relating to the church of Durham, printed in the Acta SS. (19th March.) See also the Life of St. Cuthbert. (MS. Cott. Nero A. II.)

in tempora feliciora reductus, casus suos jocunda hilarique comitate familiaribus exponere, qualiterque per beati Cuthberti meritum eos evaserit; sicut plerumque mos est mortalibus ut eos illa juvet meminisse quæ olim horruerint excepisse. Nam cum quadam die inclusus in insula solus domi esset, sociis per oram fluminis ad piscandum dispersis, corpus curis ægrum sopori commisit; et ecce, Cuthbertus, Lindisfarnensis quondam episcopus, his dormientem alloquitur: 'Ego sum Cuthbertus, si audisti; misit me Dominus ut tibi prospera annunciem: quia enim Anglia jamdudum peccatorum pœnas enormiter luit, modo [1]tandem, indigenarum sanctorum meritis, super eam misericordiæ suæ oculis respicit. Tu quoque, tam miserabiliter regno extorris, gloriose post paucum tempus in solio reponeris, atque [2]inde signum eximium tibi dabo: venient hodie piscatores tui, magnam vim grandium piscium corbibus evehentes; quod eo erit mirabilius, quia his diebus, gelante aqua, fluvius asperatus nihil tale sperari promittit; super hæc, hodie gelido rore stillans aer omnem piscantium artem eludit: verum tu, fortunæ secundæ compos, regaliter feceris si adjutorem tuum Deum, et me ejus nuncium, competenti devotione demerueris.' Hæc dicens sanctus, regem [3]soporatum solicitudinibus exuit; matremque etiam prope cubantem, tenuesque somnos propter levamen curarum ad durum cubile invitantem, ejusdem nuncii lætitia confortavit. [4]Experrecti ambo unum et idem se somniasse frequenti verborum recursu iterabant;

[1] *Tandem.*] *C. D. E. L.*; tandem Deus, *A. S.*

[2] *Inde.*] *E. D. M.*; adeo, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Soporatum.*] *A. S. C. D. K. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[4] *Experrecti.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; experti, *C.*

cum piscatores ingressi tantam piscium copiam exhibuere ut cujusvis magni exercitus ingluviem [1]saturare posse videretur. Nec multo post, ergastulum exire ausus, magnæ astutiæ periculum fecit. [2]Regis enim Danorum, sub specie mimi, subiens tentoria, unius tantum fidelissimi fruebatur conscientia: ibi, ut joculatoriæ professor artis, etiam in secretiora triclinii admissus, nihil fuit arcanum quod non exciperet tum oculis tum auribus; pluresque dies ibi moratus, cum ex omnibus quæ nosse desiderarat animo satisfecisset suo, Adelingiam rediit, congregatisque comitibus exponit inimicorum otium leveque vincendi negotium. Cunctis ad [3]audendum erectis, ipse, contractis undecunque auxiliis, exploratoribusque præmissis, de sede barbarorum certior redditus, eosque repente adorsus, [4]incredibili strage cecidit: residui, cum rege suo, dederunt obsides quod Christianitatem susciperent et ab [5]Anglia discederent, quod et factum est; namque [6]rex eorum Gudram, quem nostri Gurmundum vocant, cum triginta proceribus et omni pene populo, baptizatus, et in filium a rege Elfredo susceptus est. [7]Datæ ei provinciæ Orientalium Anglorum et

Defeat of the Danes at Ethandun.

A.D. 878.

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[1] *Saturare.*] *E.*; exsaturare, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[2] *Regis enim Danorum, sub specie mimi.*] This story is not to be found in Asser's Life of Aelfred. A somewhat similar anecdote is related of Olaf, the Danish prince, entering the camp of Aethelstân in the disguise of a minstrel, at § 131.

[3] *Audendum.*] *A. D. L. M.*; audiendum, *S. C. E.*

[4] *Incredibili strage cecidit.*] At a place called Ethandun, A.D. 878. (Asser, De Reb. Gest. Aelfredi.)

[5] *Anglia.*] *i.e.* Wessex.

[6] *Rex eorum Gudram.*] Guthorm was baptized at Aller, near Athelney, A.D. 878, and his baptismal name was Aethelstân.

[7] *Datæ ei provinciæ Orientalium Anglorum et Northanhimbrorum.*] 'This seems a mistake, as far as relates to Northumbria. The Saxon Chronicle has "Northerna," and Florence of Worcester "Rex Northmannicus," which at first glance might easily be

Northanhimbrorum, ut eas sub fidelitate regis jure foveret hæreditario quas pervaserat latrocinio. Verum, quia non mutabit Ethiops pellem suam, datas ille terras tyrannico fastu undecim
A.D. 891. annis proterens, [1]duodecimo vitam finivit, posteris quoque perfidiæ successionem transmittens; donec, [2]a nepote istius Elfredi Ethelstano subjugati, re-
A.D. 927. gem unum Angliæ fieri vel inviti concesserint, sicut hic dies invenit. Cæteri ex Danis, qui Christiani esse recusassent, [3]cum Hastengo mare transfretaverunt, ubi, quæ mala fecerint, indi-
A.D. 853. genæ norunt; tota enim ora maritima usque ad mare Tyrrhenum grassati, Parisuis, et Turonis, et multas alias urbes quæ vel super Sequanam vel Ligerim, nobiles Galliæ fluvios, sitæ sunt, civibus vacuarunt. Tunc corpora multorum sanctorum ab antiquæ requietionis sedibus eruta, et ad tutiora loca delata, peregrinas ecclesias,

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converted into Northumbria.' (Sharpe, 132.) See antea, § 97, p. 136, note [6].

[1] *Duodecimo vitam finivit.*] Guthorm died A.D. 891. 'Mortuus est itaque anno quartodecimo postquam baptismum suscepit, mausoleatusque est in villa regia quæ vocatur Headleaga, apud Orientales Anglos.' (Annal. male Asserio tribut.)

[2] *A nepote istius Elfredi Ethelstano subjugati.*] The Danes were expelled from East-Anglia, and the kingdom annexed to Wessex, under Eâdweard the Elder, A.D. 918. Malmesbury seems here to refer to the period of the death of Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, A.D. 926, when Aethelstân obtained the kingdom of Northumbria upon the expulsion of Guthferth in 927.

[3] *Cum Hastengo mare transfretaverunt.*] It has been doubted whether the chieftain who at this time headed the Danes against Aelfred be the same Hastings who distinguished himself by the extent and cruelty of his ravages in France and the south of Europe during the reign of Charles le Chauve. This has been considered by some to be a son of the first adventurer. The elder Hastings, it is alleged, had been converted to Christianity, and, as a vassal of Charles le Simple, joined the royal army in the invasion by the Normans under Rollo in 898. The period of the departure of Hastings from England after his final defeat by Aelfred in 896, would not render this identity improbable.

usque ad hoc tempus, cineribus nobilitarunt suis. Tunc et [1]beati Martini corpus, ut [2]Sidonius ait,

——— 'Totis venerabile terris,
In quo post vitæ tempora vivit honos,'

Autisiodorum a clericis suis portatum, et in ecclesia beati Germani locatum, inauditis signis circumjacentium regionum homines excitabat. Cumque adventantes pro remediorum gratia plurima conferrent, quæ bajulorum onera palparent, ut fieri solet, ex pecuniæ partitione lis commissa; Turonicis totam vendicantibus, quod eorum herus oblatores mirabilibus invitasset; indigenis contra referentibus, [3]Germanum non disparem merito, æqualem officio, et videri quidem amborum esse potentiæ, sed præponderare prærogativam ecclesiæ. Ad laxandum dubietatis nodum quæritur, et ponitur inter duorum sanctorum corpora, leprosus, vix solo anhelitu palpitans, cætera tabidus, et in vivo cadavere jam præmortuus; arcetur tota nocte humana custodia, vigilat tantum Martini gloria. Nam postera die apparuit cutis hominis [4]a parte illius splendida, a parte [5]vero Germani solita deformitate

The miracle of St. Martin.

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[1] *Beati Martini corpus.*] St. Martin, bishop of Tours, died between A.D. 395 and 400. The northern invaders under the conduct of Hastings, in the month of November 853, having entered the Loire, sailed up to Tours, and destroyed the town with the church of St. Martin. The body of the saint was then transferred, first to Cormeri, and subsequently to Auxerre. Upon this occasion the courage of the burghers is said to have been excited by the sight of the relics of St. Martin, the patron of their city. (Annal. Bertin.; Tractat. Odonis Abbat. Cluniac.; Bouquet, VII. 69, 371; VIII. 300.)

[2] *Sidonius.*] Caius Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, in Auvergne, one of the most illustrious prelates of the fifth century. He died 23d August, A.D. 482. His works were printed as early as 1473. (Ejus Op. ed. Sirmondi, Paris, 1652.)

[3] *Germanum.*] St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre in the fifth century. See antea, p. 36, note [1].

[4] *A parte illius splendida.*] *A. S. C. D. K. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[5] *Vero.*] *A. S. C. D. K. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

lurida. Et ne darent eventui miraculum, obvertunt Martino latus morbidum: jam vero cum [1]primo aurora in lucem proreperet, a festinantibus ministris invenitur vir tota cute integer, [2]tota incolumis, prædicans benevolentiam domestici præsulis, qua cessit honori gratissimi hospitis. Ita Turonici, ex tunc et deinceps, per patroni suffragium tuto familiare cumulabant marsupium, donec pacis aura clementior propriis eos penatibus invexit. Latrunculi enim, tredecim annis Gallias
A.D. 891. infestantes, ad extremum ab [3]Ernulfo imperatore et Brittannis multis præliis victi, in Angliam, opportunum scilicet tyrannidis suffugium, convola-
Aelfred's exploits. vere. Quo spatio Elfredus totam insulam, præter quod Dani habebant, [4]animo subdiderat suo; volentes enim Angli in ejus potestatem concesserant, gaudentes se talem virum edidisse, qui
A.D. 886. posset illos in libertatem evehere. [5]Londoniam, caput regni Merciorum, cuidam primario, Etheredo, in fidelitatem suam cum filia [6]Ethelfleda concessit. Ille, magna virtute et fide agere, commissa tutari sedulo, Orientales et Northanhimbros, jamdudum discessionem a rege parturientes, in statu continuit, obsides præbere compellens. Quod quantum profecerit, sequens occasio probavit. Nam cum, illis [7]quatuordecim annis, pacis serenitate et

[1] *Primo.*] *E.*; prima, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[2] *Tota.*] *C. E. L.*; totus, *A. S. D. M.*

[3] *Ernulfo imperatore et Brittannis.*] The Northmen, having been beaten in two successive battles in Brittany, met and defeated the army of the emperor Arnoul near Liege, 26th June 891, but soon after suffered a signal defeat from the emperor himself. (Bouquet, VIII.)

[4] *Animo subdiderat suo.*] Sax. Chron. A.D. 886.

[5] *Londoniam ..... concessit.*] Aelfred having repaired the city of London, which had been greatly damaged by the Danes in the year 886, committed the custody of it to Aethered, or Aethelred, his son-in-law, earl of Mercia. (Asser, De Reb. Gest. Aelfredi.) Aethered died A.D. 912.

[6] *Ethelfleda.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; Ethelfreda, *E.*

[7] *Quatuordecim.*] *D. E. M.*; tredecim, *A. S. C. L.*

glebæ ubertate Anglia gauderet, [1]rediit aquilonalis lues illa barbarorum. Iterum bella, iterum cædes, denuo Northanhimbrorum et Orientalium Anglorum conjurationes; sed nec advenæ, nec indigenæ, pari qua superioribus annis sorte perfuncti. Illi, transmarinis præliis imminuti, segniores erant ad invadendum: isti, usu bellorum, et hortamentis regis animati, promptiores [2]erant, non solum ad resistendum, sed et [3]ad lacessendum. Rex ipse impigre in omnibus necessitatibus aderat, nota suæ virtutis specie alienos territans et suos corroborans; solus adversum pectus hostibus inferre, solus inclinatam aciem restituere. Ostenduntur ab accolis loca singula, in quibus vel malæ fortunæ copiam, vel bonæ persensit inopiam. Cum Elfredo enim etiam victo, etiam jacente, luctandum erat; adeo, cum omnino contritum putares, 'velut anguis lubricus de manu tenentis elapsus,' e cavernis subitus emergebat, sponte insultantes inimicos adoriens: plerumque post fugam importabilis, et memoria repulsæ circumspectior, et ardore vindictæ audacior. Ex [4]Egelswitha, filia Egelredi comitis, tulit liberos, [5]Ethelswidam; et Edwardum, qui post se regnavit; Ethelfledam, quæ nupta fuit Ethelredo comiti Merciorum; [6]Ethelwardum, quem literatissimum

A.D. 893.

His family.

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[1] *Rediit aquilonalis lues illa barbarorum.*] The Danes returned to England in 893.

[2] *Erant.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[3] *Ad.*] *A. S. C. L.*; omitted in *D. E. M.*

[4] *Egelswitha.*] Aelfred married Ealhsuuith, or Aethelsuuitha, daughter of Earl Aethelred and Eådburh, of the royal family of Mercia, A.D. 868. She died A.D. 903.

[5] *Ethelswidam.*] *i. e.* Ethelfledam.—Asser mentions no daughter of Aelfred by the name of Aethelsuuitha. Aethelflaed was married to Aethered earl of Mercia.

[6] *Ethelwardum, quem literatissimum perhibent.*] 'Æthelweard, omnibus junior, ludis literariæ disciplinæ, divino consilio et admirabili regis providentia, cum omnibus pene totius regionis nobilibus infantibus, et etiam multis

perhibent; [1]Elfredam et [2]Elfgifam, virgines. Valetudinis adversæ [3]fuit, ut [4]qui semper vel fico, vel aliquo interaneorum morbo, agitaretur; sed hoc eum a Deo precibus exegisse aiunt, ut, incommodorum [5]admonitu, segnius illecebras mundanas [6]amplecteretur.

His institutions.

§ 122. Verum inter hæc, miranda, et insigni præconio prosequenda, vita regis interior. Licet enim, ut quidam ait, [7]leges inter arma sileant, ille [8]inter fremitus armorum leges tulit, quibus sui et divino cultui et disciplinæ militari assuescerent. Et quia occasione barbarorum etiam indigenæ in rapinas anhelaverant, adeo ut nulli tutus commeatus esset sine armorum præsidio, centurias quas dicunt hundrez, et decimas quas thethingas vocant, instituit, ut omnis Anglus, legaliter duntaxat vivens, haberet et centuriam et decimam. Quod si quis alicujus delicti insimularetur, statim ex centuria et decima exhiberet qui eum vadarentur; qui vero hujusmodi vadem non reperiret, severitatem legum horreret. Si quis autem reus, vel ante vadationem vel post, transfugeret, omnes ex centuria et decima regis

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ignobilibus, sub diligenti magistrorum cura traditus est; in qua schola utriusque linguæ libri, Latinæ scilicet et Saxonicæ, assidue legebantur: scriptioni quoque vacabant, ita ut, antequam aptas humanis artibus vires haberent, venatoriæ scilicet et cæteris artibus quæ nobilibus conveniunt, in liberalibus artibus studiosi et ingeniosi viderentur.' (Asser, De Reb. Gest. Aelfredi.)

[1] *Elfredam.*] Aelfthryth was married to Baldwin le Chauve, count of Flanders; but the year of their marriage is not recorded. He died 2nd Jan. 918, leaving two sons by her, then grown up.

[2] *Elfgifam.*] Elgiva, or Aethelgeofu, was dedicated to a monastic life, and made abbess of Shaftesbury.

[3] *Fuit.*] *A. S. C. D.*; omitted in *E. L.*

[4] *Qui semper . . . agitaretur.*] *A.S.C.D.*; quæ semper . . . agitarentur, *E.*

[5] *Admonitu.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; admonitæ, *E.*

[6] *Amplecteretur.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; amplecterentur, *E.*

[7] *Silent leges inter arma.*] Cicero, pro Milone, IV.

[8] *Inter fremitus.*] *D. E.*; inter stridores lituorum, inter fremitus, *A. S. C. L.*

multam incurrerent. Hoc commento pacem infudit provinciæ; ut etiam per publicos aggeres, ubi semitæ in quadrivium finduntur, armillas aureas juberet suspendi, quæ viantium aviditatem riderent, dum non essent qui eas abriperent. Eleemosinis intentus privilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roboravit; et trans mare Romam, et [1]ad Sanctum Thomam in India, multa munera misit. [2]Legatus in hoc missus Sigelinus, A.D. 883.
Sciréburnensis episcopus, cum magna prosperitate, quod quivis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; inde rediens, exoticos splendores gemmarum, et liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit. Præterea munus omni obrizo pretiosius, partem Dominici ligni, a papa [3]Marino regi missam. Monasteria ubi opportunum videbat construxit; [4]unum in Adelingia,

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[1] *Ad Sanctum Thomam in India.*] The Apostle Thomas is reported to have preached the Gospel in India. Concerning the Christians of St. Thomas, consult La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, 2 vols. 12mo. La Haye, 1758. Their history was written by order of St. Augustin, and has been translated into French. (Histoire Orientale des grands progrès de l'Eglise Catholique en la réduction des anciens Chrétiens dits de S. Thomas. Bruxelles, 1609.)

[2] *Legatus in hoc missus Sigelinus, Scireburnensis episcopus.*] This mission occurred in the year 883. The persons who then carried the king's alms to Rome and India are simply called in the Saxon Chronicle Sighelm and Aethelstân. Both Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester seem, however, to have confounded Earl Sighelm, who was slain by the Danes in 905, with a bishop of Sherborne, believed by some to have lived about this time. In the 'Gesta Pontificum' this bishop is called Sighelm, and made to succeed Asser [in 883]; but Florence, (who omits him altogether in his catalogue of the bishops of that see,) writing of the mission to Rome and St. Thomas' in India in 883, says, 'Assero Scireburnensi episcopo *defuncto* succedit Suithelmus; qui regis Alfredi eleemosinam ad S. Thomam Indiam detulit, indeque prospere rediit.' If Suithelme was ever bishop of Sherborne, it could not have been upon the death of Asser (A.D. 909) that he succeeded.

[3] *Marino.*] *E.*; Martino, *D.*—Marinus, or Martinus II, became pope in December 882, and died in 884.

[4] *Unum in Adelingia.*] The Benedictine monastery of Athelney, in Somersetshire, was founded by Aelfred in the year 888,

ubi eum latuisse superior relatio meminit, ibique abbatem [1]Johannem constituit, ex antiqua Saxonia oriundum; [2]alterum in Wintonia, quod dicitur Novum Monasterium, ubi [3]Grimbaldum [4]abbatem constituit, qui, se evocante, et [5]archiepiscopo Remensi mittente, Angliam venerat, cognitus quod se puerum olim (ut ferunt) Romam euntem benigno hospitio [6]confoverat. Causa evocationis

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and dedicated to the Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The foundation charter, printed in Reyneri Apostol. Benedict. in Angl. tom. II. pp. 132, 133, is wrongly dated in 852. That author conjectures the foundation of the monastery to have been before the time of Aelfred.

[1] *Johannem.*] There is much uncertainty respecting the identity of the person here named. Asser describes him as of the Old Saxon, *i. e.* German origin (*de genere Eald-Saxonum*); and the story which he relates of his death is referred by Malmesbury to Johannes Scottus, but without seeming to imply that they were the same persons. John, abbot of Athelney, is supposed by Mabillon to have come over from Gaul, probably from the monastery of Corbey, with Grimbald, by the invitation of Aelfred, in the year 883 (Mabillonius, lib. 38, Annal. Bened. Num. 68); whilst, if any reliance is to be placed on the chronicle published in the 'Scriptores Franciæ' (ex Bibliotheca Thuana), tom. III. p. 359, it would appear that Johannes Scottus, at the request of Aelfred, returned from France, where he was with Charles le Chauve, in the year 872. See also the letter from Anastasius Bibliothecarius, addressed to Charles le Chauve (printed in Ussher's Sylloge Epist. Vet. Hib. epist. XXIV. p. 45).

[2] *Alterum in Wintonia . . . Angliam venerat.*] *S. C. D. E. L.* Intimum vero Grimbaldum sanctissimum monachum et cantorem, et hostelarium ecclesiæ sancti Bertini, qui, se evocante et archiepiscopo Remensi Fulcone mittente, Angliam venerat, *A.*

[3] *Grimbaldum.*] Grimbald was a monk in the monastery of Sithiu, or St. Bertin, whence he came over to England by the invitation of Aelfred. He died 8th July, A.D. 903.

[4] *Abbatem.*] *S.C.D.E.*; patronum ecclesiæ, *L.*

[5] *Archiepiscopo Remensi mittente.*] See the letter of Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, written to Aelfred on the occasion of Grimbald's coming to England. (Asser. Annal. Rer. Gest. Alfredi, ex recens. Fr. Wise, p. 123; 8vo. Oxon. 1722.) The archbishop was assassinated by Baldwin II, called le Chauve, on the 17th June, A.D. 900.

[6] *Confoverat.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; confortaverat, *A.*, and then 'in famosa civitate Wenta sibi gratissima, facto interim monasteriolo, collocavit, ubi frequentius visitando et commorando ejus melliflua exhortatione pasceretur, donec illum eminentiori dignitati, quod mire optabat, inthronizaret.' Tanner states that Aelfred at first founded here only a house and chapel for Grimbald, whom he had brought out of Flanders; but

ut literaturæ studium, in Anglia sopitum et pene emortuum, sua suscitaret industria. [1] Sceoftoniense etiam monasterium sanctimonialibus complevit, ubi et abbatissam filiam suam Elfgivam instituit. Habebat [2] ex Sancto Dewi Asserionem quendam, scientia non ignobili instructum, quem Scireburniæ fecit episcopum. [3] Hic sensum librorum Boœtii De Consolatione planioribus verbis enodavit, quos rex ipse in Anglicam linguam vertit. Præterea, quia nullus in suo regno literarum erat peritus, evocavit ex Mercia [4] Wicciorum episcopum Werefrithum, qui jussu regis [5] Dialogorum libros in Anglicum sermonem convertit. Hoc tempore creditur fuisse [6] Johannes Scottus, Story of Johannes Scottus.

afterwards, by his will, ordered a noble house to be built on the north side of the Old-minster cathedral.

[1] *Sceoftoniense etiam monasterium.*] The Benedictine nunnery at Shaftesbury was founded about the year 888. Camden observes, that in a MS. copy of William of Malmesbury, belonging to Lord Burleigh, it was stated that Aelfred also rebuilt the whole town of Shaftesbury.

[2] *Ex Sancto Dewi Asserionem quendam.*] Asser, the friend and biographer of Aelfred: he was removed from St. David's to be made bishop of Sherborne apparently about the year 884, and died in 909. We are indebted to him for almost all the authentic particulars we possess of the private life of Aelfred as far as the year 894; but many of the facts related of that king by Malmesbury are not to be found in Asser.

[3] *Hic sensum librorum Boœtii... rex in Anglicam linguam vertit.*] The assistance which Aelfred is here described as having derived from Asser, the writer of 'An Essay on the State of Learning under the Anglo-Saxons' has singularly transferred to Sighelm, whom, with little regard to chronology, the essayist calls the chosen friend of Aelfred. This would not have been thought worthy of notice, if Malmesbury had not been cited as the authority.

[4] *Wicciorum episcopum Werefrithum.*] Werefrith, or Wilfrith, bishop of Worcester, of whom Asser writes, 'in divina scilicet scriptura bene eruditum.' He sat from 7th June, A.D. 873, till his death, in 915.

[5] *Dialogorum libros.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; dialogorum Gregorii libros, *S.*—the Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great (Paris, 4 vols. folio, 1705). Asser, speaking of the author of the Saxon version, says, 'aliquando sensum ex sensu ponens, elucubratim et elegantissime interpretatus est.' The Dialogues were printed as early as the year 1458.

[6] *Johannes Scottus.*] Johannes Scottus Erigena, a Scot by birth, retired into France about the middle of the ninth century,

vir perspicacis ingenii et multæ facundiæ, qui, dudum concrepantibus undique bellorum fragoribus, in Franciam ad Karolum Calvum transierat, cujus rogatu Hierarchiam [1] Dionysii Areopagitæ in Latinum de Græco verbum e verbo transtulit; composuit etiam librum quem περὶ φύσεων μερισμοῦ, id est, De Naturæ Divisione, titulavit, propter perplexitatem necessariarum quæstionum solvendam bene utilem; si tamen ignoscatur ei in aliquibus, in quibus a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit. Succedentibus annis munificentia Elfredi allectus venit Angliam, et apud monasterium nostrum a pueris quos docebat graphiis, ut fertur, perforatus, etiam martyr æstimatus est; quod sub ambiguo ad injuriam sanctæ animæ non dixerim, cum celebrem ejus memoriam sepulchrum in sinistro latere altaris, et epitaphii prodant versus, scabri quidem et moderni temporis lima carentes, sed ab antiquo non adeo deformes.

'Clauditur in tumulo sanctus sophista Johannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro;
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo, meruit, regnant sancti per secula cuncti.'

Aelfred's encouragement of learning.

§ 123. His [2] collateralibus rex fretus, liberales artes totis medullis indidit, in tantum ut nullus Anglorum fuerit vel in intelligendo acutior vel in interpretando elegantior; quod eo magis erat

where he translated the famous work of St. Denis, bishop of Athens, 'De divinis nominibus vel cœlestibus ordinibus.' He is mentioned by Pope Nicholas I. in his epistle to Charles le Chauve; but the year of his death is uncertain. (Ussher's Sylloge Vet. Epist. Hiber. XXII. 40.)

[1] *Dionysii Areopagitæ.*] Johannes Scottus dissented from the opinion of Hincmar, Anastasius, and the other translators of the Life of St. Denis the Areopagite, who have attempted to identify the first bishop of Paris with the Athenian martyr.

[2] *Collateralibus.*] *S. E. L.*; lateralibus, *C. D. K. M.*

mirum, quia [1]jam duodennis omnis literaturæ expers fuit. [2]Tunc vero ludo benignæ matris invitatus ut pro munere libellum, quem præ manibus tenebat, acciperet si cito addisceret, joco literas ingressus, aviditate siticulosa combibit. Denique plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, opimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium usibus convectans; cujus præcipui sunt libri [3]Orosius, Pastoralis Gregorii, Gesta Anglorum Bedæ, Boœtius De Consolatione Philosophiæ, liber proprius quem patria lingua [4]Encheridion, id est, manualem librum, appellavit. Quin et provincialibus grandem amorem studiorum infudit, hos præmiis, illos injuriis hortando; neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aspirare permittens. Psalterium transferre aggressus, vix prima parte explicata vivendi finem fecit. In [5]prologo Pastoralis dicit se iccirco ad interpretandos Anglice libros animatum, quod ecclesiæ, in quibus numerosæ a prisco bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris, a Danis incensæ sint; propterea in tota insula studium literarum abolitum, quod quisque magis vereretur capitis periculum quam sequeretur librorum exercitium. Quapropter se in hoc Anglis suis consulere ut nunc prælibarent tumultuarie, quod postea, si forte pax rediret,

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[1] *Jam duodennis omnis literaturæ expers fuit.*] Aelfred's literary education may be dated from 11th November, A.D. 887. (Asser, De Gestis Aelfredi.)

[2] *Tunc vero ludo benignæ matris invitatus.*] Compare Asser under the year 866.

[3] *Orosius.*] Paulus Orosius of Tarragone, a Spanish priest, the friend of St. Augustin, bishop of Hippon, flourished A. D. 417. The Anglo-Saxon version of his universal history has been edited by Daines Barrington, with an English translation. (Lond. 1773.)

[4] *Encheridion.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; Handboc, *S. C. K.* See Asser's account of this book, and Malmesb. De Gest. Pontif. (Gale, vol. III. p. 342.)

[5] *Prologo Pastoralis.*] Printed in Wise's edition of Asser, p. 81, Oxon. 1722.

Latino ediscerent sermone. Ad omnes principales sedes librum hunc suo jussu conscriptum velle transmittere, cum pugillari aureo in quo esset manca auri; nihil in ista vel aliis interpretationibus ex suo dicere, sed omnia a spectabilibus viris Pleimundo archiepiscopo, Asserione [1] episcopo, Grimbaldo et Johanne presbyteris, hausisse. Postremo, ut omnem vitam ejus breviter elucidem, viginti quatuor horas quæ inter diem et noctem jugiter rotantur ita dividebat, ut octo horas in scribendo et legendo et orando, octo in cura corporis, octo in expediendo regni negotia, transigeret. Erat in capella sua candela viginti quatuor partium, ædit. uusque, cui hæc delegabatur providentia, ut per combustionem candelæ regem de singulis admoneret officiis. [2] Dimidiam portionem omnium censuum, juste duntaxat adquisitorum, monasteriis suis delegavit; cunctos præterea redditus in æquas duas partes dividebat. Rursusque primam in tres, quarum primam ministris suis curialibus; secundam operatoribus, quos jugiter in novarum ædium exstructionibus, mirabili et ignoto Anglis modo, habebat; tertiam advenis. Secunda pars reddituum ita dividebatur ut prima portio daretur pauperibus regionis suæ, secunda monasteriis, tertia scholasticis, quarta transmarinis ecclesiis. [3] Judiciorum a suis

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[1] *Episcopo.*] *S. E. L.*; archiepiscopo, *D. M.*—Asser had been archbishop of St. David's.

[2] *Dimidiam portionem omnium censuum.*] Asser says he devoted one-half of his income 'to God;' which part was afterwards subdivided for the poor, for the two monasteries which he had founded, the school he had established, and for other monasteries and churches, domestic and foreign. (Asser, De Reb. Gest. Aelfredi.)

[3] *Judiciorum a suis .... asperrimus corrector.*] In the Mirror of Justice, cap. 2, it is stated that Aelfred, in one year, condemned to be hanged no less than forty-four inferior judges in the hundred and county courts for false judgments, either in condemning or acquitting men without the verdict of a jury.

hominibus factorum inquisitor, perperam actorum asperrimus corrector. Illud insolens et inauditum, quod semper sinu gestabat libellum in quo diurni cursus Psalmi continebantur, ut, si quando vacaret, arriperet, et vigilanti oculo percurreret. Ita vitam egit magna cum finitimis gratia; et Baldwino comiti Flandriæ [1] Ethelswitha filia in conjugium data, ex qua ille genuit Ernulfum et Adulfum. Iste a patre comitatum Bononiæ suscepit, ex altero sunt hodie comites [2] Flandriæ.

§ 124. Elfredus, [3] naturæ functus munere, sepultus est Wintoniæ in monasterio suo. [4] Ad cujus officinas instruendas, [5] Edwardus filius ejus sufficiens spatium terræ ab episcopo et canonicis tunc temporis nundinatus, ad unumquemque pedem mancam auri publico pondere pensitavit. Stupenda profecto regis abstinentia, His death, A.D. 901.

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[1] *Ethelswitha.*] See antea, p. 186, where Aelfred's daughter, married to Baldwin II, count of Flanders, is called Elfreda, or Aelfthryth: in French history she is called Elstrude. ' Baldwin, named Le Chauve in memory of his maternal grandfather, left two sons by this marriage, Arnoul, and Adulphus, or Adalolfus; from the former of whom (Arnoul the Great, count of Flanders, A.D. 918) descended Matilda, queen of William the Conqueror. Adolphe died without issue A.D. 933.

[2] *Flandriæ.*] *S. C. D. E. F. L.*; after ' Flandriæ,' *A. H.* read ' Commendatio et obitus Aelfredi regis.—Famosus, bellicosus, victoriosus; viduarum, pupillorum, orphanorum, pauperumque provisor studiosus; poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus, suæ genti carissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, justitia præditus; in infirmitate qua assidue laborabat patientissimus, in exequendis judiciis indagator discretissimus, in servitio Dei vigilantissimus et devotissimus; Angul-Saxonum rex Aelfredus, piissimi regis Athulfi filius, viginti et novem annis sexque mensibus regni sui peractis, mortem obiit, indictione quarta, quinto kalendas Novembris, feria quarta, et Wintoniæ in novo monasterio sepultus, immortalitatis stolam et resurrectionis gloriam cum justis expectat.'—This passage occurs verbatim in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, under the year 901.

[3] *Naturæ functus munere.*] Aelfred died on the 26th of October, A.D. 901.

[4] *Ad cujus officinas instruendas.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; ad cujus prædicti monasterii novi officinas instruendas, *A.*

[5] *Edwardus filius ejus.*] *A. S. D. M.*; omitted in *C. E. L.*

ut tanta se pateretur emungi pecunia, nolens scilicet de rapina pauperum offerre Deo sacrificium. Et erant ambæ ecclesiæ sic vicinæ parietibus contiguis, ut voces [1]canentium aliæ obstreperent aliis. Unde tum propter hoc, tum propter cætera, plurimas infelix livor effodiebat causas quibus non modicas invicem exsculperent offensas. Quapropter nuper illud cœnobium extra urbem translatum sanius incolitur, liberius insignitur. Aiunt Elfredum prius in episcopatu sepultum, [2]quod suum monasterium esset imperfectum; mox pro deliramento canonicorum, dicentium regios manes resumpto cadavere noctibus per domos oberrare, filium [3]successorem genitoris tulisse exuvias, et in [4]novo monasterio quieta sede composuisse. Has sane nænias sicut cæteras, ut credant nequam hominis cadaver post mortem dæmone agente discurrere, [5]Angli pene innata credulitate tenent, a gentilibus nimirum mutuantes, [6]sicut ait Virgilius:

'Morte obita quales fama est volitare figuras.'

Eadweard the Elder, A.D. 901.

§ 125. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo primo regnum obtinuit Edwardus, filius Elfredi, et tenuit [7]annis viginti tribus; literarum

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[1] *Canentium.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; cantantium, *A. S.*

[2] *Quod suum monasterium esset imperfectum.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *A.*

[3] *Successorem.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; successorem Edwardum, *A. S.*

[4] *Novo monasterio.*] 'On its removal called Hyde Abbey.' (Sharpe, 140.)

[5] *Angli pene innata credulitate.*] 'The popular notion was, that the devil reanimated the corpse, and played a variety of pranks by its agency; and that the only remedy was to dig up and consume the body with fire. See Will. Neubrig. 5, 22.' (Sharpe, 140.)

[6] *Sicut ait Virgilius.*] Æneid. x. 641.

[7] *Annis viginti tribus.*] Eadweard the Elder was not crowned till Whitsunday (16th May), A.D. 902; if, therefore, the commencement of his reign be dated from that day, he was yet in his twenty-third year when he died; but he had completed his twenty-

scientia multum patre inferior, sed regni potestate incomparabiliter gloriosior; siquidem ille duo regna Merciorum et West-Saxonum conjunxerit, Merciorum nomine tenus, quippe commendatum duci Etheredo, tenens. Iste primum, [1]mortuo Etheredo, Mercios omnifariam, mox [2]Occidentales et Orientales Anglos, et Northanhimbros, qui cum Danis jam in unam gentem coaluerant, et Scottos, qui aquilonalem insulæ partem inhabitant, et Britones omnes, quos nos Walenses dicimus, bellis profligatos, suæ ditioni subegerit; nec unquam in aliqua pugna humiliorem manum habuerit. Invenit ingenium quo excursus falleret Danorum; urbibus enim per loca opportuna multis, vel veteribus reparatis vel novis excogitatis, replevit eas manu militari, quæ incolas protegeret, hostes repelleret. Nec frustra: adeo virtutes provincialium in præliis occalluerant, ut si audirent inimicos adventantes, rege etiam et ducibus inconsultis, in certamen ruerent; eisque semper numero et [3]præliari scientia præstarent. Ita hostes militibus contemptui, regi risui erant. Denique novi, qui ductu cujusdam [4]Aethelwoldi filii patrui regis advenerant, omnes ad unum cum eo interfecti, veteres vel peremti, vel sub nomine Anglorum reservati. Aethelwoldus sane, primis diebus hujus regis multa molitus, ejus dominium dedignabatur, asserens se non inferiorem vel genere vel virtute: sed a proceribus, qui fide obstricti

third year, computed from his father's death, on 26th October, A.D. 924. He died at Faringdon, probably before the close of that year, but certainly before the 30th of January, A.D. 925.

[1] *Mortuo Etheredo.*] Aethered, earl of Mercia, died A.D. 912.

[2] *Occidentales.*] Meaning probably the people of Essex, or East-Saxons.

[3] *Præliari.*] *A. D. E. L. M.*; præliandi, *S. C.*

[4] *Aethelwoldi filii patrui regis.*] Aethelwold, son of Aethelberht, the elder brother of Aelfred, was slain A.D. 905.

fuerant, in exilium trusus, piratas adduxerat; cum quibus, ut dixi, cæsus, fecit documentum stultum esse contra potentiores recalcitrare. De his licet merito Edwardus laudetur, palma tamen potissima debetur patri per meum arbitrium, qui tantæ potentiæ fecit auspicium. [1]Inter hæc non prætermittatur soror regis Ethelfleda, Etheredi relicta, non mediocre momentum partium, favor civium, pavor hostium, immodici cordis fœmina, quæ pro experta difficultate primi partus; [2]vel potius unius, perpetuo viri complexum [3]horruerit, protestans non convenire regis filiæ ut illi se voluptati innecteret, quam tale incommodum post tempus urgeret. Virago potentissima multum fratrem consiliis juvare, in urbibus exstruendis non minus valere; non discernas potiore fortuna an virtute ut mulier viros domesticos protegeret, alienos terreret. [4]Decessit ante germanum quinquennio, sepultaque in monasterio sancti Petri Gloecestræ, quod ipsa cum viro Etheredo ingenti cura exstruxerat, eoque ossa beati Oswaldi ex Bardenia transtulerat; sed, illo tempore Danorum destructo, aliud, quod nunc in eadem civitate præcipuum habetur, [5]Aldredus archiepiscopus Eboracensis instauravit.

Account of Aethelflaed.

Her death, A.D. 919.

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[1] *Inter hæc non prætermittatur .... Ethelfleda.*] For notices of Aethelflaed, Lady of the Mercians, consult the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 912—919.

[2] *Vel potius unius.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *S.*

[3] *Horruerit.*] *C. D. E. M.*; horruit, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Decessit ante germanum quinquennio.*] Aethelflaed died at Tamworth 12th June, A.D. 919. She left a daughter by Earl Aethered, named Aelfwyn. (Flor. Wigorn.; Sax. Chron.)

[5] *Aldredus archiepiscopus Eboracensis instauravit.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *A.* which reads instead, 'tunc quidem quomodocunque remansit, tempore vero Normannorum per Serlonem abbatem caput extulit.' —Aldred, bishop of Worcester in 1046, after the death of Archbishop Kinsinus, was appointed to York, A.D. 1061, to hold both sees together; but the pope refused him the pall until he had given up Worcester. (Malmesb. in Vita S. Wulstani.) He died 11th September 1069.

DE LIBERIS EDWARDI PRIMI.

§ 126. Rex, quia multas filias habebat, dedit Edgifam [1]Karolo regi Francorum, filio [2]Lodowici filii Karoli Calvi, cujus filiam, [3]ut sæpe dixi, Ethelwulphus rex Roma rediens acceperat: et quia se occasio ingessit, uxores ejus et liberos nominatim persequi non indignum ducet benignus auditor. Primogenitum [4]Ethelstanum habuit ex Egwinna illustri fœmina; et filiam, [5]cujus nomen scriptum non in promptu habeo: hanc ipse frater Sihtricio Northanhimbrorum regi nuptum dedit. Secundus filius Edwardi fuit [6]Ethelwardus ex Elfleda filia Ethelmi comitis, literis apprime institutus, multumque Elfredum avum vultu et moribus præferens, sed cita post genitorem morte subtractus. Ex eadem uxore habuit Edwinum, cujus interitus quæ opinio sit, [7]posterius non constanter sed titubanter efferam. Tulit quoque ex illa sex filias, Edfledam, Edgivam, Ethelhildam, Ethildam, Edgitham, Elfgivam; prima et tertia cœlibatum Deo voventes, Edfleda in sacrato, Ethelhilda in laico tegmine, terrenarum nuptiarum voluptatem fastidiere: jacent ambæ Wil-

Eadweard's family.

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[1] *Karolo regi Francorum.*] Charles le Simple. See antea, § 112, p. 166.

[2] *Lodowici.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Lodowici Balbi, *A. S.*

[3] *Ut sæpe dixi.*] § 109, p. 153; and § 113, p. 168.

[4] *Ethelstanum habuit ex Egwinna illustri fœmina.*] Eguuina, the mother of King Aethelstân, is said to have been Eadweard's concubine; but Malmesbury speaks doubtingly of this alleged stain on Aethelstân's birth. See postea, § 131, p. 205.

[5] *Cujus nomen scriptum non in promptu habeo.*] The name of Eadweard's daughter, who was given by her brother Aethelstân in marriage to Sihtric, king of Northumbria, (30th January 925,) does not occur in any of the early English chronicles. She is called Beatrix by the Scottish historians.

[6] *Ethelwardus.*] Aethelweard died at Oxford a few days after his father, and was buried at Winchester. See postea, § 131, p. 205.

[7] *Posterius . . . efferam.*] See postea, § 139.

toniæ, juxta matrem tumulatæ. [1] Edgifam dedit pater Karolo regi, ut dixi; [2] Ethildam frater Ethelstanus Hugoni, [3] Edgitham et Elfgivam idem [4] germanus misit Henrico Alamannorum imperatori, quarum secundam Othoni filio ille locavit, alteram cuidam duci juxta Alpes. Suscepit etiam ex tertia uxore, Edgiva vocabulo, filios duos, Edmundum et Edredum, qui ambo post Ethelstanum regnarunt: filias duas, Edburgam et Edgivam. Edburga, sacrata Christo virgo, Wintoniæ quiescit: [5] Edgivam, speciositatis eximiæ mulierem, conjunxit frater Ethelstanus Lodowico Aquitanorum principi. Filias suas ita instituerat ut literis omnes in infantia maxime vacarent, mox etiam colum et acum exercere consuescerent, ut his artibus pudice impubem virginitatem transigerent; [6] filios, ut primum eruditio plena literarum in eos confluerет, et deinde quasi philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non jam rudes procederent.

DE NORMANNIS, QUOMODO FRANCIAM INFESTAVERINT; ET QUOD ROLLO ACCEPIT FILIAM REGIS FRANCORUM.

Of the Normans.

§ 127. At vero Karolus iste gener Edwardi, multis calamitatibus a Rollone coactus, partem illi

[1] *Edgifam dedit pater Karolo regi.*] See antea, § 112, p. 166. After the death of Charles le Simple, Queen Eadgiva married Herbert comte de Troyes, son of Herbert comte de Vermandois, A.D. 951. (Bouquet, IX. 126.)

[2] *Ethildam . . . . Hugoni.*] Hugh count of Paris, surnamed the Great, son of Robert I. king of France, the brother of King Eudes. He died A.D. 956, but left no issue by Eadhild. He was the father of Hugh Capet, king of France.

[3] *Edgitham et Elfgivam . . . . juxta Alpes.*] See antea, § 112, p. 168.

[4] *Germanus misit.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; germanus, ut præfatus sum, misit, *A.*

[5] *Edgivam . . . Lodowico Aquitanorum principi.*] Eadgiva was married to Louis l'Aveugle, emperor and king of Arles. She had by him a son named Charles Constantine, count of Vienna. (Bouquet, VIII. 186.)

[6] *Filios.*] *D. E. M.*; filios ita, *A. S. C. L.*

Galliæ, quæ nunc Normannia vocatur, concessit. Longum est persequi quot annis et quanta audacia omnia inquietaverint Northmanni ab oceano Britannico, [1]ut ante commemoravi, usque ad Tyrrhenum mare. Primo Hasteng, mox [2]Rollo, qui nobili sed per vetustatem obsoleta prosapia Noricorum ortus, [3]regis præcepto patria carens, multos, quos vel æs alienum vel conscientia scelerum exagitabat, magnis spebus solicitatos secum abduxit. Itaque piraticam aggressus, cum ubique libera spatiaretur insania, [4]apud Carnotum hæsit; siquidem cives, nec armis nec muris confisi, beatæ dominæ Mariæ suffragium adorant. [5]Camisiam quoque ejusdem virginis, quam [6]Karolus Calvus cum aliis reliquiis a Constantinopoli advexerat, in modum vexilli super propugnacula, custodum trita pectoribus, ventis exponunt: hostes visam ridere, et in eam per inane sagittas dirigere; non impune, nam mox, oculis obnubilatis, nec retro regredi nec ante tendere valuere. [7]Id oppidani lætis animis conspicati, multa eorum cæde, quantum fortuna aspi-

[1] *Ut ante commemoravi.*] *A.D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*; ut ante memoravi, *S.*— See § 121, p. 182.

[2] *Rollo, qui nobili . . . prosapia Noricorum ortus.*] Rollo was the son of Rögnvald, jarl of Mære, (slain A.D. 893,) who was descended in the maternal line from the famous Sigurdr Ring, king of Denmark and Sweden.

[3] *Regis præcepto patria carens.*] Having been detected in the exercise of *Strandhug*, or impressment of provisions, a practice then prohibited in Denmark under the severest penalties, Rollo was banished from his native land by command of King Harald Hárfager, A.D. 895. (Snorre, Haralds Saga ens Harfagra, c. xxiv. tom. I. p. 100; ed. Hauniæ, 1777.)

[4] *Apud Carnotum hæsit.*] Rollo besieged Chartres in the year 911.

[5] *Camisiam quoque ejusdem virginis.*] Bishop Waltelme is said to have borne in his hand the tunic of the Holy Virgin, by means of which the besiegers were put to flight.

[6] *Karolus Calvus . . . a Constantinopoli advexerat.*] This is also related in an anonymous French chronicle of the twelfth century; but it seems by no means certain that Charles ever visited Constantinople.

[7] *Id.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; quod, *S.*

rabat, gaudium suum satiarunt. Evasit tamen Rollo, quem suæ fidei Deus reservabat. Nec multo post Rotomagum et confines urbes armis obtinuit, anno Domini [1]octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto, anno uno ante obitum Karoli Calvi; [2]cujus filii filius Lodowicus, [3]ut supra lectum est, Northmannos vicit quidem, sed non expulit. At vero [4]Karolus frater istius Lodowici, nepos Karoli Calvi ex filio Lodowico, ut prius tetigi, multotiens adversis bellis expertus, nihil sibi fortunam restituere, quod aliis abstulisset: cum magnatibus librato consilio bonum esse liberalitatem ostentare regiam, cum non posset propulsare injuriam, Rollonem pacifice accersivit. Erat ille jam grandævus, et facile ad concordiam inclinatus est. [5]Ita fœdus ictum est ut baptisma susciperet, et terram illam de rege sicut de domino suo cognosceret. Ubi considerari potuit ingenita et effrænis barbaries

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[1] *Octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto.*] *A. S. C. L.*; octingentesimo sexto, *D. E. M.*—Rollo's invasion of Neustria is assigned by both French and English chroniclers to the year 876, twenty years earlier than the northern writers place that event; which, according to them, occurred in the year following Rollo's banishment from Norway. Some of the French chronicles likewise mention an invasion of Neustria in the year 896, but not under the conduct of Rollo. Either period, however, was manifestly long antecedent to the siege of Chartres and the events above narrated. The remarkable dream which Rollo is reported to have had, and which was interpreted as foretelling his establishment in France, is said to have occurred in the year 876. See the Annals attributed to Asser, Gale, III. 165.

[2] *Cujus filii filius Lodowicus.*] Louis III, son of Louis le Bègue, the son of Charles le Chauve.

[3] *Ut supra lectum est.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; 'dictum,' *S.*—A.D. 881. See antea, § 110, p. 159.

[4] *Karolus.*] Charles le Simple.

[5] *Ita fœdus ictum est.*] The terms of this treaty, it is believed, nowhere exist in an authentic form, and it is even very questionable if it ever were reduced to writing. There has obtained in France a fanciful notion that the original charter was carried away by one of the kings of England of the Norman line, and deposited in the Tower of London: if this supposition were even well founded, all traces of such a document have long since been lost.

viri, siquidem cum, dono concesso, astantes suggererent [1] ut pedem largitoris oscularetur, dedignatus genubus advolvi, apprehensum pedem regis ad os suum stans attraxit. Illo resupinato, secutus risus Northmannorum; Francis reprehendentibus factum, excusat Rollo impudentiam, allegans provinciæ suæ morem: ita rebus compositis Rotomagum rediit, [2] ibique diem clausit.

DE HUGONE CAPET, QUOMODO FACTUS EST REX FRANCIÆ.

§ 128. Filius hujus Karoli fuit [3] Lodowicus: [4] is a quodam Isambardo, qui, ad paganismum versus, fidem luserat, irritatus, proceres suos de suffragio convenit; quibus nec responsum referentibus, [5] Hugo quidam, non magni nominis tyro, filius Ro- French history.

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[1] *Ut pedem largitoris oscularetur.*] The discourteous act here laid to the charge of Rollo is attributed by William of Jumiéges to one of the Norman knights in the duke's attendance. (Bouquet, VIII. 257.) Robert Wace, however, likewise makes the Norman chief himself guilty of the disrespect offered to the French king. (Roman de Rou.)

[2] *Ibique diem clausit.*] Rollo abdicated in favour of his son William in the year 927. He died A.D. 931. (Bouquet, IX. 12, note.)

[3] *Lodowicus.*] Louis IV, surnamed d'Outremer, returned from England, accompanied by William archbishop of Sens, in the year 936, and was crowned on the 19th of June in that year. He died at Rheims by a fall from his horse, 10th September A.D. 954.

[4] *Is a quodam Isambardo.*] The events detailed in this section are greatly confounded. What is here related of Louis IV. appears to belong to the reign of his uncle, Louis III. The Northmen, in the year 881, ravaged Le Vimeu and Ponthieu, at the persuasion, as it is said, of Isembard, the nephew of Louis, who, having incurred the displeasure of his uncle, had been banished the kingdom, and fled to Guormond, or Guorm, the Danish chieftain. The signal defeat which the Northmen sustained in this year at Saulcourt, with the loss of their chief, is related in most of the French chronicles; and some verses in the Teutonic dialect are extant recording the praises of Louis merited on that occasion. (Bouquet, VIII. 273; IX. 58, 99—101.)

[5] *Hugo quidam . . . filius Roberti comitis Montis Desiderii.*] It seems by no means clear who is the person here intended. The author appears to refer either to Hugh Capet, or to his father, Hugh the Great, son of Robert I. king of France; but the two per-

berti comitis Montis Desiderii, ultro [1] pro domino [2]duellum expetiit, et provocatorem interemit. Lodowicus cum toto exercitu apud Pontivum subsecutus, omnibus barbaris quos ille adduxerat vel occisis vel elapsis, opimam lauream obtinuit. Sed non multo post, pro labore illius expeditionis extrema valetudine debilitatus, hæredem regni Hugonem illum instituit, prædicandæ fidei et virtutis juvenem. [3]Ita prosapia Karoli magni in illo cessavit, seu quod uxor ejus sterilis fuerat, seu quod pro brevitate vitæ absque prole decesserat. [4]Hugo alteram filiam Edwardi duxit uxorem, et genuit [5]Rodbertum; Rodbertus [6]Henri-

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sons are manifestly confounded in the subsequent passages. Hugh, son of Conrad, count of Auxerre, and brother of Robert le Fort, grandfather of Hugh the Great, distinguished himself at the battle fought by Louis against the Northmen in 881: to him, therefore, according to the series of time, the adventure with Isembard, if not altogether a fiction, might perhaps be referred, rather than to either the grand-nephew or the great-grand-nephew. He died during the siege of Paris in the year 886.

[1] *Pro domino duellum expetiit, et provocatorem interemit.*] This adventure is not noticed in the 'Recueil des Historiens de France.'

[2] *Duellum.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; duellium, *E.*

[3] *Ita prosapia Karoli magni in illo cessavit . . . absque prole decesserat.*] The Carlovingian race terminated with Louis V, grandson of Louis d'Outremer. Louis IV. left issue by Gerberge, sister of the emperor Otho, Lothaire, who succeeded him 12th Nov. A.D. 954, and died 2nd March 986; and Charles duke of Lorraine, who disputed the crown of France with Hugh Capet, upon the death of Louis V. son of Lothaire, and afterwards died in prison, A.D. 994.

[4] *Hugo alteram filiam Edwardi duxit uxorem.*] Malmesbury, as it seems, would here refer to Hugh Capet, whom he confounds with his father, Hugh the Great, the husband of Eadhild, or Ethilda, daughter of Eadweard the Elder. See § 126, p. 198. Hugh Capet, king of France, was consecrated at Rheims 3rd July, A.D. 987, and died 24th October A.D. 996.

[5] *Rodbertum.*] Robert II. having been crowned during his father's life at Orleans, 1st January 988, succeeded upon his death as sole king of France, and died on Tuesday, 20th July, A.D. 1031.

[6] *Henricum.*] Henry I, of France, was consecrated during his father's life, and succeeded him in 1031. He died at Vitry, near Paris, on the 4th of August, A.D. 1060.

cum; Henricus [1] Philippum; Philippus [2] Lodowicum, qui nunc in Francia regnat. Sed, ut ad nostrum Edwardum revertar, quid ejus tempore de renovandis episcopatibus a papa Formoso præceptum sit, jocundum puto memoratu: itaque [3] verbis eisdem quibus inveni scripta interseram.

§ 129. Anno quo a nativitate Domini transacti sunt anni nongenti quatuor, misit papa Formosus in Angliam epistolas, quibus dabat excommunicationem et maledictionem regi Edwardo, et omnibus subjectis ejus, pro benedictione quam dederat beatus Gregorius genti Anglorum a sede sancti Petri; nam per septem annos plenos destituta fuerat [4] episcopis omnis regio Gewisorum, id est, West-Saxonum. Quo audito, congregavit rex Edwardus synodum senatorum gentis Anglorum, cui præsidebat Pleimundus [5] archiepiscopus interpretans districta verba apostolicæ legationis. Tunc rex et episcopi elegere sibi suisque salubre consilium, et, juxta vocem Dominicam, ("[6] Messis quidem multa, operarii autem Pope Formosus.

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[1] *Philippum.*] Philippe I, called St. Philippe, was crowned at seven years of age, during his father's life, 23rd May 1059. He died at Melun 30th July 1108.

[2] *Lodowicum, qui nunc in Francia regnat.*] Louis VI, surnamed le Gros, was consecrated at Orleans, 3rd August 1108, by the archbishop of Sens; and died at Paris, 1st August 1137.

[3] *Verbis eisdem quibus inveni scripta.*] This account is copied from a MS. (Bodley, 579) which was given by Bishop Leofric, who died 1073, to Exeter cathedral. The whole is so replete with anachronisms as to leave the presumption of forgery beyond a doubt. The instrument is dated in 904, and Formosus died on Easter day (11th April) 896, upwards of five years before Eadweard commenced his reign; whilst Frithestan was not bishop of Winchester before the year 910. On the subject of the seven vacant sees, consult Anglia Sacra, vol. I. p. 554; Spelman, and Wilkins, Concilia, vol. I. p. 201. See also Ingulphus (Gale, tom. I.)

[4] *Episcopis.*] *A. C. D. E.*; episcopalis, *L.*

[5] *Archiepiscopus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, *S.*

[6] *Messis ... pauci.*] Matth. IX. 37.

pauci,') elegerunt et constituerunt singulos episcopos singulis provinciis Gewisorum, et quod olim duo habuerunt in quinque diviserunt. Acto concilio, archiepiscopus Romam cum honorificis muneribus adiit, papam magna humilitate placavit, decreta regis recitavit, quod apostolico maxime placuit. Rediens ad patriam, in urbe Cantuariæ uno die septem episcopos septem ecclesiis ordinavit; Fridestanum ad ecclesiam Wintoniensem, Adelstanum ad Cornubiensem, Werstanum ad Sciréburnensem, Adelelmum ad Wellensem, Edulfum ad [1]Cridiensem. Sed et aliis provinciis constituit duos episcopos, Australibus Saxonibus virum idoneum Bernegum, et Merciis Chenulfum ad civitatem [2]Dorcestræ: hoc autem totum papa firmavit, ut damnaretur in perpetuum qui hoc infirmaret decretum.

Death of Eadweard the Elder, A.D. 924.

§ 130. Edwardus, universæ carnis viam ingressus, quiescit in eodem monasterio quo pater; quod ipse quoque magnis redditibus ampliaverat, in quo et [3]ante quadriennium fratrem Adelwardum sepelierat.

DE ETHELSTANO FILIO EDWARDI.

Aethelstân, A.D. 924.

§ 131. [4]Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo vicesimo quarto, Ethelstanus filius Ed-

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[1] *Cridiensem.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Cridiensem in Devonia, *S.*

[2] *Dorcestræ.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Dorcestræ in pago Oxoniæ, *S.*

[3] *Ante quadriennium fratrem Adelwardum sepelierat.*] Aethelweard, youngest son of King Aelfred, died 16th October, A.D. 922; rather more than two years before the death of his brother Eadweard.

[4] *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo vicesimo quarto.*] During the national controversy as to the feudal dependence of Scotland on the English crown, King Edward I. issued his writs under the great seal of England, addressed to the principal cathedrals and monasteries in the realm, commanding them to search their chronicles and archives for all matters relating to Scotland, and to transmit the results to the king. The certificate sent on that occasion from the monastery of Malmesbury contains only two long excerpts

wardi regnare cœpit, tenuitque regnum [1] annis sexdecim. Frater ejus Elwardus, paucis diebus post patrem vita decedens, sepulturam cum eodem Wintoniæ meruerat. Itaque magno consensu optimatum ibidem Ethelstanus electus, apud regiam villam quæ vocatur Kingestune coronatus est: quamvis quidam Elvredus cum factiosis suis (quia seditio semper invenit complices) obviare tentasset, cujus qui fuerit finis [2] posterius verbis ipsius regis referemus. Occasio contradictionis, ut ferunt, quod Ethelstanus ex concubina natus esset; sed ipse, præter hanc notam ([3] si tamen vera est), nihil ignobile habens, omnes antecessores devotione mentis, omnes eorum adoreas triumphorum suorum splendore obscuravit. Adeo præstat ex te, quam ex majoribus, habere quo polleas; quia illud tuum, istud reputabitur alienum. Nova monasteria quot et

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from William of Malmesbury's history, viz. the whole of this section and § 148; with a few brief notices of Henry I. abridged from the commencement of the fifth book. In one MS. (*L.*) the passages marked '*Nota de Scotia*,' apparently for the same object, are far more numerous than the extracts from Malmesbury's history contained in any of the returns now extant: it would seem therefore that the certificate of the establishment to which this MS. belonged has not been preserved. The extracts from the chronicles preserved in the monastic libraries, relating to the subjugation of Scotland, are very valuable: the reader is referred for information on this subject to Palgrave's 'Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland.' See also the Cotton MSS. Julius D. VI.

[1] *Annis sexdecim.*] Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and the Saxon Chronicle place the death of Aethelstân in the year 940; but if, as also stated by Florence, this event be referred to Wednesday, 27th October, indict. XIV. his death must have occurred A.D. 941, before he had completed the seventeenth year of his reign. See a charter of King Eâdmund, dated A.D. 940, indict. XIII. (Cott. MSS. Aug. II. 62.)

[2] *Posterius verbis ipsius regis referemus.*] See postea, §§ 136, 137.

[3] *Si tamen vera est.*] Malmesbury here, and again at the close of § 138, 'quæ ideo apposui, non ut earum veritatem defendam,' seems to imply a disbelief in the reputed meanness of Aethelstân's birth.

quanta fecerit, scribere dissimulo. Illud non transiliam, quod vix aliquod in tota Anglia vetustum fuerit quod non vel ædificiis, vel ornamentis, [1]aut libris, aut prædiis, [2]decoravit. Ita recentia ex professo, vetusta quasi [3]aliud agens artifici benignitate insignibat. Cum Sihctrico rege Northanhimbrorum, data ei in [4]matrimonium una ex sororibus, victurum fœdus perculit; [5]quo post annum mortuo, provinciam illam sibi subegit, [6]expulso quodam Aldulfo qui rebellabat. Et quia nobilis animus, semel incitatus, in ampliora conatur, Judwalum regem omnium Walensium, et Constantinum regem Scottorum, [7]cedere regnis compulit. Quos tamen non multo post, miseratione infractus, in antiquum statum sub se regnaturos constituit; gloriosius esse pronuncians regem facere quam regem esse. Postremum illi [8]bellum cum Analafo fuit, Sihctrici filio, qui spe

Annexation of Northumbria, A.D. 927.

A.D. 926.

A.D. 938.

[1] *Aut libris.*] The Cotton MS. Tiberius, A. II. is a copy of the Gospels presented by King Aethelstân to the church of Canterbury; and Claudius, B. V. is a volume also presented by him to the church of Bath.

[2] *Decoravit.*] *D. E. M.*; decoraverit, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Aliud.*] *S. C. D. E.*; aliquid, *A. L.*

[4] *Matrimonium.*] *C. D. E. L.*; after 'matrimonium,' *A. S.* read 'ut prælocutus sum.'—See antea, § 126, p. 197.

[5] *Quo post annum mortuo.*] Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, died A.D. 926, and was succeeded by his son Guthferth, whom Aethelstân expelled in the following year, and annexed Northumbria to his dominions.

[6] *Expulso quodam Aldulfo.*] Ealdred, son of Ealdulf, of Bamborough. (Flor. Wigorn.; Sax. Chron. an. 926.)

[7] *Cedere regnis compulit.*] The submission of the kings to Aethelstân took place at Eamot on the 12th of July, A.D. 926.

[8] *Bellum cum Analafo fuit, Sihctrici filio.*] There are several chiefs named Anlaf mentioned at this period in the Anglo-Saxon annals: Anlaf, the son of Sihtric; Anlaf, the son of Guthferth; and Anlaf Cuaran, who is also noticed in the Annals of Ulster, under the years 944 and 946. Anlaf of Ireland, who joined the confederate chiefs against Aethelstân at the battle of Brunanburgh, A.D. 938, known also under the name of Onlauf, or Olaf, was descended in the maternal line from Ragnar Lodbrok, and seems to have been a king of the Œstmen dynasty in Ireland. He married the daughter of Constantine, king of the Scots.

invadendi regni, cum supradicto Constantino iterum rebellante, terminos transierat. Et Ethelstano ex consulto cedente, ut gloriosius jam insultantem vinceret, multum in Angliam processerat juvenis audacissimus et illicita spirans animo, cui tandem magnis artibus ducum, magnis viribus militum, apud [1]Brunefeld occursum. Ille, qui tantum periculum imminere cerneret, astu exploratoris munus aggressus, depositis regiis insignibus, assumptaque in [2]manibus cithara, ad tentorium regis nostri progreditur: ubi cum præ foribus cantitans, interdum quoque quateret dulci resonantia fila tumultu, facile admissus est, professus mimum qui hujusmodi arte stipem quotidianam mercaretur. Regem et convivas musico acromate aliquantisper delinivit, cum inter psallendum omnia oculis scrutaretur. Postquam satietas edendi finem deliciis imposuisset, et severitas administrandi belli in colloquio procerum recrudesceret, abire jussus pretium cantus accepit. Quod asportare nauseans, sub se in terra defodit. Notatum id a quodam qui olim illi militasset, et confestim Athelstano dictum. Ipse hominem incusans quod hostem præ oculis positum non prodidisset, hoc responsum accepit: 'Idem sacramentum quod tibi nuper, O rex, feci, quondam Analafo dedi; quod si in ipso me vidisses violare, de te quoque posses exemplum simile cavere. Sed dignare famuli audire consilium, ut hinc tentorium amoveas; alioque loco, usque dum partes relictæ veniant, manens, inimicum petulanter insultantem modesta cunctatione frangas.' Dicto probato, discessum est

Battle of Brunanburgh, A.D. 938.

[1] *Brunefeld.*] *D. E. M.*; Bruneford, *A. S. L.*: Breneveld, *C.*—Brunanburgh in Northumberland; the exact site is not known. The battle was fought A.D. 938.

[2] *Manibus.*] *C. D. E.*; manu, *A. S. L.*

illinc. Analafus, nocte paratus [1]adveniens, [2]episcopum quendam, qui vespere ad exercitum venerat, nesciensque rerum gestarum, pro viridantis campi [3]æquore, ibi tabernaculum tetenderat, cum tota familia [4]occidit. Tum ultra progrediens regem ipsum imparatum offendit, quippe qui nihil tale hostem ausurum timens large quieti indulserat. Sed cum tanto fremitu stratis excussus, suos, quantum per id noctis poterat, ad bellum acueret, gladius ejus fortuitu vagina excidit. Quocirca, cum omnia formidinis et cæci tumultus plena essent, inclamato Deo et sancto [5]Aldelmo, reductaque ad vaginam manu, [6]invenit ensem, qui hodieque pro miraculo in thesauro regum servatur. Est sane (ut aiunt) una parte sectilis, nec unquam auri aut argenti receptibilis. Hoc Dei dono fretus, simulque quia [7]jam illucescebat, Noricum adorsus, tota die usque ad vesperam indefessus fugavit cum exercitu. [8]Cecidit ibi rex

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[1] *Adveniens.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[2] *Episcopum quendam.*] Werstan, bishop of Sherborne. — 'Werstanum ferunt in prælio contra Analafum a rege Ethelstano susceptum a paganis trucidatum.' (Malmes. De Gestis Pontificum, de Episcopis Sciréburnensibus, p. 248; edit. Franc.)

[3] *Æquore.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; planitie, *C.*

[4] *Occidit.*] *A. D. E. L.*; cecidit, *S. C.*

[5] *Aldelmo.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; after 'Aldelmo,' *S. C.* read 'erat enim ei ex antiquis progenitoribus consanguineus.'

[6] *Invenit ensem, qui hodieque.*] It appears by the Patent Roll, 9th of John, that the king had among his regalia two swords, viz. *ensis Tristami et alius ensis*: it is not improbable that the sword which was preserved in the king's treasury when Malmesbury wrote, may have been the *alius ensis* referred to in the letters patent above cited.

[7] *Jam.*] *C. D. E. L.*; dies, *A. S.*

[8] *Cecidit ibi rex Scottorum Constantinus.*] The history attributed to Ingulph, besides the account of Constantine having fallen in the battle of Brunanburgh, contains statements of some other events about this period, which, whether true or false, are to be found also in Malmesbury. This peculiarity might afford ground for the belief that Malmesbury had followed Ingulph, or some older authority common to both historians; if the opinion be well founded that the history which bears the name of Ingulph is not ge-

Scottorum Constantinus, perfidæ animositatis et vivacis senectæ homo; aliique reges quinque, [1]comites duodecim, omnisque [2]pene barbarorum congeries: pauci qui evaserant, pro fide Christi suscipienda conservati.

§ 132. [3]De hoc rege non invalida apud Anglos fama seritur, quod nemo [4]legalius vel literatius rempublicam administraverit. Quanquam literas illum scisse, pauci admodum [5]dies quod didicerim in quodam sane volumine vetusto, in quo scriptor cum difficultate materiæ luctabatur, judicium animi sui non valens pro voto proferre. Cujus hic verba pro compendio subjicerem, nisi quia ultra opinionem in laudibus principis vagatur, eo dicendi genere quod suffultum rex facundiæ Romanæ Tullius in rhetoricis appellat. Eloquium excusat consuetudo illius temporis, laudum nimietatem adornat [6]favor Ethelstani adhuc viventis. [7]Pauca igitur familiari stylo subnectam, quæ videantur aliquod conferre emolumentum ad dignitatis ejus documentum.

§ 133. Rex Edwardus, post multa [8]et in bello

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nuine, being a compilation of no earlier date than Edward II, there is a singularity in some of the statements and expressions, carried even to the adoption of manifest errors, which is very remarkable. In the poem inserted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, composed as a memorial of this battle, the son of Constantine is related to have been left 'on the field of slaughter covered with wounds;' but it is there recorded, as also in Florence of Worcester, that both Constantine and Olaf escaped to their ships. The Chronicle of Melrose states that Constantine died A.D. 943.

[1] *Comites duodecim.*] The annals mention only five earls.

[2] *Pene.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[3] *De hoc rege.*] i.e. Ethelstano.

[4] *Legalius.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; validius, *C.*

[5] *Dies.*] *E.*; dies sunt, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[6] *Favor.*] *S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*; pavor, *A.*

[7] *Pauca igitur familiari stylo subnectam.*] Malmesbury seems to have derived this account of Aethelstân from some source not at present known.

[8] *Et in bello.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

et in toga nobiliter consummata, paucis ante obitum diebus, [1] urbem Legionum, fiducia Britonum rebellantem, a contumacia compescuit: ibi-
A.D. 924. que præsidio militum imposito, apud [2] Ferendunam villam, tactus valetudine, vitam præsentem [3] exuit; et Vintoniæ, ut prædixi, humatus est. Tunc, jussu patris et testamento, Ethelstanus in regem acclamatus est, quem jam tricennalis ætas et sapientiæ maturitas commendabant. Nam et avus Elfredus prosperum ei regnum olim imprecatus fuerat, videns et gratiose complexus spectatæ speciei puerum et gestuum elegantium; [4] quem etiam præmature militem fecerat, donatum chlamyde coccinea, gemmato baltheo, ense Saxonico cum vagina aurea. Post hæc in curia filiæ Ethelfledæ et generi Etheredi educandum curaverat; ubi multo studio amitæ et præclarissimi ducis ad omen regni altus, gloria virtutum calcavit et pressit invidiam, post mortem patris et interitum fratris in regem apud Kingestune coronatus. Unde pro tantorum successuum gloria, et illius diei lætitia, (non injuria,) versificus exclamat:

'Regia progenies produxit nobile stemma
Cum tenebris nostris illuxit splendida gemma,
Magnus Adelstanus, patriæ decus, orbita recti,
Illustris probitas de vero nescia flecti.
Ad patris edictum datus in documenta scholarum,
Extimuit rigidos ferula crepitante magistros;

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[1] *Urbem Legionum.*] Chester.

[2] *Ferendunam.*] *A. C.*; Ferdunam, *D. E. L. M.*

[3] *Exuit.*] *S.*; exivit, *A. C. D. E. L. M.*

[4] *Quem etiam præmature militem fecerat.*] Mr. Sharpe considers that this passage tends to prove the existence of knights as a distinct order among the Saxons; though perhaps it may amount to nothing more than the bestowing his first arms upon him.

Et potans avidis doctrinæ mella medullis,
Decurrit teneros, sed non pueriliter, annos.
Mox, adolescentis vestitus flore juventæ,
Armorum studium tractabat, patre jubente.
Sed nec in hoc segnem senserunt bellica jura:
Id quoque posterius [1]cognovit publica cura.
Functus erat fato pater omni [2]præcluus ævo,
Perpetua fama victurus secula cuncta;
Tunc juvenis nomen regni clamatur in omen,
Ut fausto patrias titulo moderetur habenas:
Conveniunt proceres et componunt diadema,
Pontifices pariter dant infidis anathema,
Emicat in populis solito festivior ignis,
Et produnt variis animi penetralia signis.
Ardet quisque suum regi monstrare favorem;
Hic timet, hic sperat, pellit spes ampla [3]pavorem,
Fervet et exundat, regali regia luxu,
Spumat ubique merum, fremit ingens aula tumultu,
Discurrunt pueri, celerant injuncta ministri.
Deliciis ventres cumulantur, carmine mentes;
Ille strepit cithara, decertat plausibus iste,
In commune sonat, "Tibi laus, tibi [4]gloria, Christe!"
Rex non invitus, oculis hunc haurit honorem,
Omnibus indulgens, proprium [5]dignanter amorem.'

§ 134. Transacta consecrationis celebritate, Ethelstanus, ne spem civium falleret, et inferius opinione se ageret, omnem omnino Angliam solo

[1] *Cognovit.*] *C. D. E. K.*; curavit, *A.*; juravit, *S. L.*
[2] *Præcluus.*] *S. D. E. L.*; prædiuus, *A. C.*
[3] *Pavorem.*] *A. D. E. L.*; timorem, *S. C.*
[4] *Gloria.*] *A. S. C. E.*; gratia, *D. L. M.*
[5] *Dignanter.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; dignatur, *S.*

nominis terrore subjugavit, præter solos Northanhimbros. Nam præerat illis Sihctricus quidam, gente et animo barbarus, cognatus illius Gurmundi [1]de quo in gestis Elfredi regis legitur, qui, cum antecessorum regum potentiam rugatis naribus derisisset, hujus affinitatem ultro supplicibus nunciis expetiit; ipse quoque, festino pede subsecutus, verba legatorum asseruit; quare et sororis [2]copula, et multiplicibus xeniis muneratus, perpetui fœderis fundamenta jecit. Sed, [3]ut prædictum recolo, post annum vita deturbatus, occasionem Ethelstano exhibuit ut Northanhimbriam suæ parti jungeret, quæ sibi et antiquo jure et nova necessitudine competeret. [4]Fugit tunc Analafus filius Sihctrici
A.D. 927. Hiberniam, et [5]Godefridus frater ejus Scotiam; subsecuti sunt e vestigio regales missi ad Constantinum regem Scottorum, et Eugenium regem Cumbrorum, transfugam cum denunciatione belli repetentes. Nec fuit animus barbaris ut contra mutirent, quin potius sine retractione, [6]ad locum qui Dacor vocatur venientes, se cum suis regnis Anglorum regi dedidere. In cujus pacti gratia filium Constantini baptizari

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[1] *De quo in gestis Elfredi regis legitur.*] Guthorm died A.D. 891. See antea, § 121, p. 182.

[2] *Copula.*] *C. D. E. L.*; after 'copula,' *A.* reads 'ut jam bis asserui.'

[3] *Ut prædictum recolo.*] See antea, § 131, p. 206.

[4] *Fugit tunc Analafus filius Sihctrici.*] The flight of Anlaf, son of Sihtric, into Ireland, here mentioned, has led some to identify him with Olaf of Ireland, who fought against Aethelstân in 938. The Saxon Chronicle states that in 944 King Eadmund expelled from Northumberland two kings, Anlaf son of Sihtric, and Raegenald son of Guthferth.

[5] *Godefridus frater ejus Scotiam.*] Guthferth was expelled from the kingdom of Northumbria A.D. 927.

[6] *Ad locum qui Dacor vocatur .... regi dedidere.*] Florence of Worcester, under the year 934, (Sax. Chron. 933,) relates that Aethelstân, because Constantine king of the Scots had broken his treaty with him, marched against Scotland, and Constantine gave his son as a hostage to the English king.

jussum, ipse de sacro fonte suscepit. Evasit tamen Godefridus, inter apparatus itinerantium fuga cum quodam Turfrido, diversarum partium duce, lapsus; moxque Eboracum obsidens, oppidanosque nunc precibus nunc minis ad defectionem solicitans, et neutrum pro voto expediens, abscessit. Nec multo post, in quodam castro ambo conclusi, custodientium perspicaciam fugiendo luserunt; quorum Turfridus mature diem obiit in pelago naufragus, præda piscibus expositus. Godefridus, multis miseriis terra marique jactatus, ad postremum supplex curiam venit: ibi pacifice a rege susceptus, quatuorque diebus profusissime cum eo convivatus, naves suas repetiit, pirata vetus, et in aqua sicut piscis vivere assuetus. Ethelstanus interea castrum, quod olim Dani in Eboraco obfirmaverant, ad solum diruit, ne esset quo se tutari perfidia posset: præda quæ in castro reperta fuerat, et ea quidem amplissima, magnifice et viritim divisa. Hoc enim vir ille animo imperaverat suo, ut nihil opum ad crumenas corraderet; sed omnia conquisita, vel monasteriis, vel fidelibus suis, munificus expenderet. In [1]hoc thesauros paternos, in hoc victoriarum suarum titulos, tota vita evacuabat. Deo famulantibus pronus et dulcis, laicis jocundus et comis, magnatibus pro contuitu majestatis serius, minoribus pro condescensione [2]paupertatis, deposito regni supercilio, affabiliter sobrius. Statura, ut accepimus, quæ justam non [3]excelleret, corpore deducto; capillo, [4]ut ipsi ex reliquiis vidimus, flavo, filis aureis pulchre intorto. Civibus admiratione fortitudinis et hu-

[1] *Hoc.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; hoc enim, *S.*

[2] *Paupertatis.*] *A. D. E. L.*; pietatis, *S. C.*

[3] *Excelleret.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; excederet, *D. M.*

[4] *Ut ipsi ex reliquiis vidimus.*] *D.E.L.*; reliquiis ejus, *S.*

militatis percarus, rebellibus invicta constantia fulmineus, North-Walensium, id est, Britonum Aquilonalium, regulos apud Herefordensem urbem coegit occurrere, et aliquandiu calcitrantes in deditionem transire; ita quod nullus ante eum rex vel cogitare præsumpserat, ipse in effectum formavit, ut ei nomine vectigalis annuatim viginti libras auri, trecentas argenti, penderent, boves viginti quinque millia annumerarent, præterea [1]quotlibet canes qui odorisequa nare spelæa et diverticula ferarum deprehenderent, volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari [2]nossent. Inde digressus, in Occidentales Britones se convertit, qui Cornewalenses vocantur; qui, in occidente Britanniæ siti, [3]cornu Galliæ ex obliquo respiciunt. Illos quoque impigre adorsus, ab Excestra, quam ad id temporis æquo cum Anglis jure inhabitarant, cedere compulit; terminum provinciæ suæ citra Tambram fluvium constituens, sicut Aquilonalibus Britannis amnem Waiam limitem posuerat. [4]Urbem igitur illam, quam contaminatæ gentis repurgio defæcaverat, turribus munivit, muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit. Et licet solum illud, jejunum et squalidum, vix steriles avenas et plerumque folliculum inanem sine grano producat, tamen pro civitatis magnificentia, et incolarum opulentia, tum etiam

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[1] *Quotlibet.*] *E.*; quot liberet, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[2] *Nossent.*] *A. C. E. L.*; noscerent, *S.*; solent, *D. M.*

[3] *Cornu Galliæ ex obliquo respiciunt.*] See p. 158, note [1].

[4] *Urbem igitur illam.*] Aethelstân subdued Howell at Exeter in the year 926. It is probable that Aethelstân kept his Christmas there at that time, which he appears to have done when he made some of his laws at that place. 'Hæc sunt judicia quæ sapientes Exoniæ consilio Athelstani regis instituerunt, &c. Ego Athelstanus, &c. Nunc inveni cum illis sapientibus qui apud Exoniam fuerunt mecum in sancto natali Domini,' &c. Ll. Athelstani, cap. 1. Compare the description of Exeter here, with the passage in De Gest. Pontif. lib. III.

convenarum frequentia, omne ibi adeo abundat mercimonium, ut nihil frustra desideres quod humano usui conducibile existimes. Plurima ejus insignia, tam in urbe illa quam in finitima regione, visuntur, quæ melius indigenarum ore quam nostro stylo [1]pinguntur.

§ 135. Propter [2]hæc tota Europa laudes ejus prædicabat, virtutem in cœlum ferebat: felices se reges alienigenæ non falso putabant si vel affinitate, vel muneribus, ejus amicitias mercarentur. [3]Haroldus quidam, rex Noricorum, misit ei navem, rostra aurea et velum purpureum habentem, densa testudine clipeorum inauratorum intrinsecus circumgyratam. Missorum nomina fuere Helgrim et Osfrid, qui, regaliter in urbe Eboraca suscepti, [4]sudorum peregrinationes præmiis decentibus extersere. Henricus primus, [5]filius Conradi, (multi enim hujus nominis fuere,) rex Teutonicorum et imperator Romanorum, sororem [6]ejus filio Othoni expostulavit, tot in circuitu regibus prætermissis, progeniei generositatem et animi magnitudinem in Ethelstano e longinquo conspicatus. Adeo enim hæc duo in eo consentiens habitaculum effecerant, ut nullus esset vel genere clarior et illustrior, vel animo audacior et efficacior. Quare perpenso consilio, quod quatuor sorores haberet, in quibus præter ætatis discrimen nihil de formæ gratia dissideret, duas

[1] *Pinguntur.*] *C. D. E.*; pingentur, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Hæc.*] *C. D. E.*; hoc, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Haroldus quidam, rex Noricorum.*] Harald I, surnamed Hárfager, king of Norway. Compare the account of Harald's embassy to King Aethelstân in 931. Snorre, Haralds Saga ens Harfagra, c. XLI.—XLIII. tom. I. pp. 119—121. (Hist. Reg. Norveg. operâ Gerhardi Schöning, Hauniæ, 1777.)

[4] *Sudorum peregrinationes.*] *E.*; sudores peregrinationis, *D. M.*; sudorem peregrinationis, *A. S. C. L.*

[5] *Filius Conradi.*] See antea, p. 168, note [1].

[6] *Ejus.*] *C. D. E. L.*; ejus, ut ante dictum est, *A. S.*

postulanti Cæsari misit, quas ille quomodo nuptum locaverit, [1]jam sermo præoccupavit. Tertiam legitima copula sortitus est comparem [2]Lodowicus Aquitanorum princeps, de genere Karoli magni superstes. Quartam, in qua omne coagulum pulchritudinis, quod cæteræ pro parte habent, naturaliter confluxerat, [3]Hugo rex Francorum per nuncios a germano expetiit. Princeps hujusce legationis fuit Adulfus, filius Baldewini comitis Flandriæ, [4]ex filia regis Edwardi Ethelswitha. Is, cum in conventu procerum apud Abbandunam proci postulata exposuisset, protulit munera sane amplissima, et quæ cujuslibet avarissimi cupiditatem incunctanter explerent: odores aromatum qualia nunquam antea in Anglia visa fuerant: honores gemmarum, præsertim smaragdorum, in quorum viriditate sol repercussus oculos astantium gratiosa luce animaret: equos cursores plurimos, cum phaleris, fulvum ([5]ut Maro ait) 'mandentes sub dentibus aurum:' vas quoddam ex onichino, ita subtili cælatoris arte sculptum, ut vere fluctuare segetes, vere germinare vites, vere moveri hominum imagines viderentur; ita lucidum et politum ut vice

[1] *Jam sermo præoccupavit.*] See antea, § 112, p. 168; and § 126, p. 197.

[2] *Lodowicus Aquitanorum princeps.*] Louis king of Arles, son of Boson, married Eadgiva, daughter of Eådweard the Elder.

[3] *Hugo rex Francorum.*] Perhaps we should read here 'Hugo dux Francorum.' Hugh the Great, count of Paris, and son of Robert I. king of France, is so designated in the French chronicles. His marriage with Eadhild took place A.D. 926. (Bouquet, VIII. 289.)

[4] *Ex filia regis Edwardi Ethelswitha.*] Adulfus, or Adalolfus, count of Boulogne and Terouanne, and abbot of St. Bertin, was the son of Baldwin le Chauve, count of Flanders, and Aelfthryth, or Elstrude, daughter of King Aelfred. He died 13th November, A.D. 933, without children; and was succeeded by his brother, Arnoul the Great, count of Flanders.

[5] *Ut Maro ait.*] Æneid. VII. 279.

speculi vultus intuentium æmularetur: ensem Constantini magni, in quo literis aureis nomen antiqui possessoris legebatur; in capulo quoque super crassas auri laminas clavum ferreum affixum cerneres, unum ex quatuor quos Judaica factio Dominici corporis aptarat supplicio: lanceam Karoli magni, quam imperator invictissimus, contra Saracenos exercitum ducens, siquando in hostem vibrabat, nunquam nisi victor abibat; ferebatur eadem esse quæ, [1] Dominico lateri centurionis manu impacta, pretiosi vulneris hiatu Paradisum miseris mortalibus aperuit: vexillum [2] Mauricii beatissimi martyris, et Thebææ legionis principis, quo idem rex in bello [3] Hispano quamlibet infestos et confertos inimicorum cuneos dirumpere, et in fugam solitus erat cogere: diadema ex auro quidem multo, sed magis gemmis pretiosum, quarum splendor ita in intuentes faculas luminis jaculabatur, ut quanto quis certaret visum intendere, tanto magis reverberatus cogeretur cedere: particulam sanctæ et adorandæ crucis crystallo inclusam, ubi soliditatem lapidis oculus penetrans potest discernere qualis sit ligni color, et quæ quantitas: portiunculam quoque coronæ spineæ, eodem modo inclusam, quam, ad derisionem regni, militaris rabies sacrosancto imposuit capiti.

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[1] *Dominico lateri centurionis manu impacta.*] 'The legend of St. Longinus makes the centurion mentioned in the Gospel the person who pierced the side of our Lord; with many other fabulous additions. See Jac. a Voragine, Legenda Sanctorum.' (Sharpe, 156.)

[2] *Mauricii beatissimi martyris, et Thebææ legionis principis.*] The story of the martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion, in the third century, appears to be apocryphal; it was first published about the middle of the fifth century by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons. See a dissertation on this subject in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xxxv. pp. 427—454.

[3] *Hispano.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Hispanico, *A. S.*

His tantis et tam elaboratis donis magnificentissimus rex gavisus, non minoribus pene respondit beneficiis, quin [1]et anhelantis animum nuptiis sororis refecit. [2]Et cæteris quidem successores reges [3]ditavit: partem vero crucis et coronæ Malmesbiriæ delegavit, [4]quorum sustentaculo adhuc credo vigere [5]locum, tot libertatis naufragia, tot calumniatorum injurias, passum; nam et ibidem Elwinum et Ethelwinum filios patrui sui Ethelwerdi, quos [6]in bello contra Analafum amiserat, humari honorifice jussit, sui quoque corporis requiem ibidem futuram denuncians. De quo bello tempus est ut illius versifici, de quo omnia hæc excerpsimus, sententiam ponamus.

'Transierat quinos et tres et quatuor annos
Jure regens [7]cives, subigens virtute [8]tyrannos,
Cum redit illa lues Europæ noxia labes.
Jam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,
Jam jacet in campo, pelago pirata relicto,
Illicitas torvasque minas Analafus anhelans.
Bacchanti furiæ, Scottorum rege volente,
Commodat assensum borealis terra serenum:
Et jam grande tument, jam terrent aera verbis;
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota superbis.
Nam quia rex noster fidens alacrisque juventa,
Emeritus pridem detriverat otia lenta,
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis,
Urgentes miseros, injectis ignibus agros:

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[1] *Et.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Et cæteris.*] There seems to be something here defective in the text. All the MSS. agree.

[3] *Ditavit.*] *D. E. M.*; dotavit, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Quorum.*] *S. D. E. L.*; quarum, *A. C.*

[5] *Locum.*] *D. E. M.*; locum illum, *A. S. C. L.*

[6] *In bello contra Analafum.*] The battle of Brunanburgh, A.D. 938.

[7] *Cives.*] Glossed in *E.* 'vel Anglos.'

[8] *Tyrannos.*] Glossed in *E.* 'vel Britannos.'

Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Ægra seges votum deriserat agricolarum;
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium concursus quadrupedantum.
Excivit tandem famæ querimonia regem
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri,
Quod sua barbaricæ cessissent arma securi.
[1]Non mora: victrices ducentia signa cohortes,
Explicat in ventum vexilla ferocia centum;
Cruda virum virtus decies bis millia quina,
Ad stadium belli comitantur prævia signa.
[2]Terruit insignis venientum [3]fama latrones,
[2]Hic strepitus movit prædatorum legiones
Ut, posita præda, proprias peterent regiones.
At vulgus reliquum, miseranda strage peremtum,
Infecit bibulas tetris nidoribus auras:
Fugit Analafus, de tot modo millibus unus,
[4]Depositum mortis, fortunæ [5]nobile munus,
Post Ethelstanum rebus momenta daturus.'

§ 136. Hic locus exigere videtur ut [6]interitum Elfredi, [7]de quo superius fidem promissæ narrationis obstrinxi, regis sermonibus exponam. Nam quia Malmesbiriam corpora cognatorum deferri, et ad caput sepulchri sancti Aldelmi tumulari, jusserat, ita locum illum coluit in posterum [8]ut nihil haberet sanctius. Multa ibi

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[1] *Non.*] *D. E.*; nec, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Terruit, &c. Hic strepitus, &c.*] *D. E.*; the two lines are transposed in *A. S. L.*; *C.* omits the last line.

[3] *Fama.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; 'turma,' interlined in *L.*

[4] *Depositum.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; repositum, *E.*

[5] *Nobile.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; möbile, *S.*

[6] *Interitum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; initium, *S.*

[7] *De quo superius . . . obstrinxi.*] See antea, § 131, p. 205.

[8] *Ut.*] *D. E. M.*; after 'ut,' *A. S. C. L.* read 'nihil desiderabilius.'

largitus prædia cartis quoque confirmavit, in quarum una post donationem subjecit,

DE INTERITU ELFREDI ÆMULI ETHELSTANI.

Aethelstân's charter.

§ 137. '[1] Sciant [2] sapientes regionis nostræ [3] nos has præfatas [4] terras [5] non injuste rapuisse, rapinamque Deo dedisse; sed sic eas accepi quemadmodum judicaverunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum, insuper et apostolicus papa Romanæ ecclesiæ [6] Johannes, Elfredo defuncto, qui nostræ felicitati et vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitiæ inimicorum nostrorum consentiens quando me voluerunt, patre meo defuncto, cæcare in [7] civitate Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripuisset. Sed, denudatis eorum machinamentis, [8] missus est ad Romanam ecclesiam, ut ibi se coram apostolico Johanne jurejurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram sancti Petri altari; sed, facto juramento, cecidit coram altari, et manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad [9] Scholam Anglorum, et ibi tertia nocte vitam finivit. Et tunc apostolicus ad nos remisit, et quid de eo ageretur a nobis consuluit: an cum cæteris Christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis et nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis nostræ, cum propinquorum illius turma, efflagitabant omni humilitate ut corpus illius per nos-

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[1] *Sciant sapientes.*] Aethelstân's charter to the monastery of Malmesbury is to be found in the author's life of Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne. (Angl. Sacr. pars II. p. 31.)

[2] *Sapientes.*] *A. S. E. L.*; præsentes, *D. M.*; gentes, *C.*

[3] *Nos.*] *C. E. L.*; non, *A. S. D. M.*

[4] *Terras.*] *A. S. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *C.*

[5] *Non.*] *C. E. L.*; me, *A. S. D. M.*

[6] *Johannes.*] John XI. was consecrated 20th March, A.D. 931, and died in January, A.D. 936.

[7] *Civitate.*] *D. E. L. M.*; urbe, *A. S. C.*

[8] *Missus.*] *C. D. E. M.*; remissus, *A. S. L.*

[9] *Scholam Anglorum.*] The School of the Saxons residing at Rome was situate near the church of St. Peter. See antea, p. 152, note [4].

tram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Christianorum; nosque, illorum efflagitationi consentientes, Romam remisimus, et consentiente papa positus est ad cæteros Christianos, quamvis indignus. Et sic judicata est mihi tota possessio ejus in magnis et modicis. Sed et hæc apicibus literarum prænotavimus, ne, quamdiu Christianitas regnat, aboleatur. Unde mihi præfata possessio, quam Deo et sancto Petro dedi, donatur; nec justius novi quam Deo et sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, et mihi prosperitatem regni largiti sunt.'

§ 138. In his verbis regis sapientiam, et pietatem ejus in Dei rebus, suspicere par est: sapientiam, quod animadverteret, juvenis præsertim, non esse Deo gratiosum de rapina holocaustum; pietatem, quod munus, ultione divina collatum, Deo potissimum non ingratus rependeret. Præterea datur animadvertendum, quod tunc basilica sancti Petri primaria cœnobio fuerit, quæ nunc in secundis habetur; ecclesia beatæ Mariæ, quam monachi modo frequentant, postea regis Edgari diebus sub abbate Elfrico [1] ædificata. Et hæc quidem fide integra de rege

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[1] *Ædificata.*] *A.S.D.E. L.M.*; after 'ædificata,' *C.* reads 'Cujus autem opinionis fuerit apud Gallos, tum in belli sudoribus tum in Christiano cultu, non parvum epistola quam subjicio facit indicium. "Summæ et individuæ Trinitatis honore, omniumque sanctorum præcellentissima intercessione, glorioso et munifico regi Ethelstano, Samsonis summi pontificis ego Rohbodus præpositus, istius seculi gloriam et æterni beatitudinem. Benignitatis ac sublimitatis vestræ, piissime, et in omnibus hujus temporis regibus terrenis famosa laude præcellentissime, rex Adelstane, noverit optime pietas, manente adhuc stabilitate nostræ regionis, quod pater vester Eduuardus per literas se commendavit consortio fraternitatis sancti Samsonis summi confessoris, ac Leuenani archiepiscopi senioris ac consobrini mei, ac clericorum ejus. Unde usque hodie indefessas Regi Christo pro ejus animæ salute, et pro salute vestra, fundimus preces; et die noctuque,

conscripsi: [1] sequentia magis cantilenis per successiones temporum detritis, quam libris ad [2] instructiones [3] posteriorum elucubratis, didicerim. Quæ ideo apposui, non ut earum veritatem defendam, sed ne lectorum scientiam defraudem: ac primum de nativitate referendum.

DE ORTU ETHELSTANI, ET DE NECE EDWINI FRATRIS EJUS.

Of the origin of Aethelstân.

§ 139. Erat in quadam villa opilionis filia, eleganti specie puella, quæ, quod non contulissent natales, formæ mercabatur gratia. Huic per visum monstratur prodigium, lunam de suo ventre splendere, et hoc lumine totam Angliam

videntes magnam super nos misericordiam vestram apparere, in psalmis, et missis, et orationibus nostris, quasi pervolutus ego et duodecim canonici mei genubus nostris fuissemus, promittimus Deum clementem orare pro vobis. Et modo reliquias, quas vobis omni terrena superbia scimus esse cariores, transmitto vobis; id est, ossa sancti Senatoris, sancti Paterni, atque sancti Scubilionis ejusdem Paterni magistri, qui similiter uno die eademque hora cum supradicto Paterno migravit ad Christum. Isti certissime duo sancti cum sancto Paterno læva dextraque jacuerunt in sepulchro; atque illorum solennitates nono kalendas Octobris, sicut et Paterni, celebrantur. Igitur, rex gloriose, sanctæ exaltator ecclesiæ, gentilitatis humiliator pravæ, regni tui speculum, totius bonitatis exemplum, dissipator hostium, pater clericorum, adjutor egentium, amator omnium sanctorum, invocator angelorum, deprecamur atque humiliter invocamus, qui in exulatu et captivitate nostris meritis et peccatis in Francia commoramur, ut non nostri obliviscatur vestræ felicitatis largissimæ magna misericordia." Hæc epistola. Cæterum, rex reliquias beati Paterni Malmesbiriæ, reliquorum Mideltune commendavit, quo loci monasterium a fundamentis procuderat. Tunc enim, ut superius dixi, piratis Normannorum omnem oram marini litoris, simul et urbes quæ super Ligerim sitæ sunt, infestantibus, corpora sanctorum de Britannia Minori, et ea parte Galliæ quæ nunc Normannia vocatur, translata, et ad tutiora loca delata, facile cuilibet pro penuria bajulorum venum patebant, præsertim Ethelstano, regi opinatissimo et talium rerum appetentissimo.'

[1] *Sequentia magis cantilenis per successiones temporum detritis.*] Malmesbury frequently refers to historical ballads as the source of his information.

[2] *Instructiones.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; institutiones, *S.*

[3] *Posteriorum.*] *S. E. L.*; posterorum, *A. C. D. M.*

illustrari. Quod cum mane ad sodales detulisset ludo, ab illis non jlocaliter exceptum, confestim villicæ auribus, quæ regis filios nutrire solebat, insonuit. Illa, rem examinans, puellam intra lares suos receptam filiæ loco habuit; cultioribus vestimentis, cibis delicatioribus, gestibus facetioribus, virgunculam informans. Non multo post, filius regis Elfredi Edwardus, itineris casu per villam transiens, ad domum divertit infantilium rudimentorum olim consciam; neque enim integrum famæ suæ rebatur si [1]nutricem [2]salutare fastidiret: ubi, visæ virginis amore captus, noctem petiit. Ipsa uno complexu gravidata, cum peperisset filium Ethelstanum, somnii fidem absolvit; nam cum ille, pueritia mortua, in adolescentiam evaderet, magnam spem regiæ indolis dabat, præclaris facinoribus approbatus. Itaque rege Edwardo defuncto, filius ejus Elwardus, ex legitima conjuge creatus, patrem cita morte secutus. Tunc omnium spebus in Ethelstanum erectis, solus [3]Elfredus, magnæ insolentiæ homo, cum suis clam [4]restitit quoad potuit, dedignatus subdi domino quem suo non delegisset arbitrio. Quo, ut superius rex retulit, prodito et [5]exanimato, fuere qui fratrem regis Edwinum insidiarum insimularent: scelus horrendum et fœdum, quod sedulitatem fraternam sinistra interpretatione turbarent. Edwinus per se et per internuncios fidem germani implorans, et licet sacramento delationem infirmans, in exilium actus est. Tan-

[1] *Nutricem.*] *C. D. E. L.*; nutricem suam, *A. S.*

[2] *Salutare.*] *A. S. D. E. M.*; visitare, *C.*

[3] *Elfredus.*] See antea, §§ 136, 137.

[4] *Restitit.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; restituit, *E.*

[5] *Exanimato.*] *A. S. E. L.*; examinato, *C. D. M.*

tum quorundam mussitatio apud animum in multas curas distentum valuit, ut ephœbum etiam externis miserandum, oblitus consanguineæ necessitudinis, expelleret; inaudito sane crudelitatis modo, ut solus cum armigero navem conscendere juberetur, [1]remige et remigio vacuam, præterea vetustate [2]quassam. Diu laboravit fortuna ut insontem terræ restitueret. Sed cum tandem in medio mari furorem ventorum vela non sustinerent, ille, [3]ut adolescens delicatus et vitæ in talibus pertæsus, [4]voluntario in aquas præcipitio mortem conscivit. Armiger, saniori consilio passus animam producere, modo adversus fluctus eludendo, modo pedibus subremigando, domini corpus ad terram detulit angusto scilicet a Dorobernia in Witsant mari. Ethelstanus, postquam ira deferbuit, animo sedato factum exhorruit, septennique pœnitentia accepta, in delatorem fratris animose ultus est. Erat ille pincerna regis, et per hoc ad persuadenda quæ excogitasset accommodus. Itaque cum forte die solenni vinum propinaret, in medio triclinio uno pede lapsus, altero se recollegit; tunc, occasione accepta, fatale sibi verbum emisit, 'Sic frater fratrem adjuvat.' Quo rex audito perfidum obtruncari præcepit, sæpius auxilium germani, si viveret, increpitans, et mortem ingemiscens.

Death of Eadwin, A.D. 933.

§ 140. Hæc de fratris nece, etsi verisimilia [5]videntur, eo minus corroboro quod mirabilem suæ pietatis diligentiam in reliquos fratres in-

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[1] *Remige.*] *C. E. L.*; sine remige, *A. S. D.*

[2] *Quassam.*] *C. D. E. L.*; quassatam, *A. S.*

[3] *Ut.*] *C. D. E. M.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[4] *Voluntario in aquas præcipitio mortem conscivit.*] Eadwin was drowned at sea A.D. 933; Simeon of Durham adds, by the command of Aethelstân.

[5] *Videntur.*] *C. D. E.*; videantur, *A. S. L.*

tenderet; quos, cum pater puerulos admodum reliquisset, ille parvos magna dulcedine fovit, et adultos regni consortes [1]fecit. De [2]sororibus superius lectum est quanta [3]eas majestate provexerit, quas pater et innuptas et indotatas reliquerat. [4]Vitæ termino expleto, et quidem immaturo, Ethelstanus Gloecestræ diem clausit. Exuviæ triumphales Malmesbiriam delatæ, et sub altari tumulatæ. Portata ante corpus multa in argento et auro donaria, simul et sanctorum reliquiæ de transmarina Britannia emptæ. In [5]talibus enim thesauros patris, quos ille diu coacervatos et intactos reliquerat, consumpsit; somnio, ut [6]fertur, admonitus. Vir, qui parum ætati vixerit, multum gloriæ.

Death of Aethelstân, A.D. 941.

DE REGE EDMUNDO PRIMO.

§ 141. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [7]nongentesimo quadragesimo Edmundus frater Ethelstani, adolescens octodecim circiter annorum, tenuit regnum annis sex et semis. Hujus tempore Northanhimbri, rediviva meditantes prælia, pactum quod cum Ethelstano pepigerant corrupere, et [8]Analafum, ab Hibernia revocatum, statuere re-

Eâdmund, A.D. 941.

A.D. 941.

[1] *Fecit.*] *A. S. E. G. L.*; faciens, *C. K.*; after 'fecit,' *C. D. K. M.* read 'nunquam eorum intuitu dare operam matrimonio curavit.'

[2] *Sororibus.*] *C. D. E. M.*; sororibus suis, *A. S. G. L.*

[3] *Eas.*] *C. D. E. M.*; omitted in *A. S. G. L.*

[4] *Vitæ termino expleto . . . . Ethelstanus Gloecestræ diem clausit.*] Aethelstân died at Gloucester on Wednesday, 27th of October, A.D. 941.

[5] *Talibus enim thesauros patris . . . consumpsit.*] See note [1], p. 221.

[6] *Fertur.*] *E.*; ferunt, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[7] *Nongentesimo quadragesimo.*] In this date Malmesbury follows the Saxon Chronicle; but it seems more probable that Eâdmund the Elder succeeded in 941; but there is a charter of Eâdmund dated A.D. 940, indict. XIII. (MSS. Cott. Aug. II. 62.)

[8] *Analafum . . . statuere regem.*] In the year 941 the Northumbrians broke the treaty they had made with Aethelstân, and recalled Anlaf from Ireland, whom they chose for their king. (Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.)

gem. At vero Edmundus, qui existimaret injurium si non fraternæ victoriæ reliquias persequeretur, copias contra desertores ductitavit.
A.D. 942. Quibus mox loco cedentibus, [1]omnes civitates citra Humbram fluvium suæ potentiæ redegit. Analafus cum quodam regulo [2]Reinaldo, filio illius Gurmundi de quo in gestis Elfredi tetigimus, animum regis tentans, deditionem [3]sui obtulit, [4]Christianitatem obsidem fidei suæ professus. Sed non diu barbaricus animus in sententia mansit, quin et sacramentum læderet, et
A.D. 944. dominum irritaret; quapropter [5]anno sequenti pulsus, perpetuo exilio pœnas luit. Provincia
A.D. 945. quæ vocatur Cumberland, [6]regi Scottorum Malcolmo, sub fidelitate jurisjurandi commendata.

§ 142. [7]Inter [8]ea beneficia quæ diversis ecclesiis contulit, miro affectu Glastoniensem ecclesiam magnis prædiis et honoribus sublimavit, et privilegium [9]in hæc verba concessit:

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[1] *Omnes civitates ... suæ potentiæ redegit.*] In the year 942 Eâdmund recovered from the Danes the five burghs, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, and reduced all Mercia to his dominion.

[2] *Reinaldo, filio illius Gurmundi ... tetigimus.*] Raegenald was the son of Guthferth, whom Aethelstân expelled from Northumberland in 927. See antea, § 131, p. 206, note [5].

[3] *Sui.*] *C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *A. S.*

[4] *Christianitatem ... professus.*] Anlaf first, and Raegenald soon after, in the year 943, received baptism at the hands of King Eâdmund.

[5] *Anno sequenti pulsus.*] In the year 944, King Eâdmund expelled from Northumberland the two kings, Anlaf the son of Sihtric, and Raegenald the son of Guthferth. See antea, § 134, p. 212, note [4].

[6] *Regi Scottorum Malcolmo ... commendata.*] A.D. 945. The Saxon Chronicle states that King Eâdmund granted Cumberland to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on condition that he should be *his fellow worker* (hiſ miðwẏrhta) as well by sea as by land; Florence of Worcester, 'ut terra marique sibi fidelis existeret.'

[7] *Inter.*] The two following sections, 142 and 143, occur in *S.C* 2. (13 B. XIX.) *D. E. F. K. M.*; but are omitted in *A. C* 1. (Harl. 447.) *H. G. L.*

[8] *Ea.*] *S. D. E.*; cætera, *F.*

[9] *In hæc verba concessit.*] Malmesb. De Antiquitate Glaston. Ecclesiæ. (Gale, III. 318.)

§ 143. 'In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ego Edmundus rex Anglorum, cæterarumque gentium [1] in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector, cum consilio et consensu optimatum meorum, pro æternæ retributionis spe et relaxatione peccaminum meorum, concedo [2] ecclesiæ Dei genitricis Mariæ Glastoniæ, et venerabili viro Dunstano, [3] quem ibidem abbatem constitui, libertatem et potestatem, jura, consuetudines, et omnes forisfacturas omnium terrarum suarum, id est, burhgerihta, et hundred setena, athas, et ordelas, et infangenetheofas, hamsocne, et friðbrice, et forestal, et tol et team, in omni regno meo; et sint terræ suæ sibi liberæ et solutæ ab omni calumpnia, sicuti meæ mihi habentur. Sed præcipue ipsa villa Glastoniæ, in qua celeberrima vetusta ecclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis sita est, præ cæteris sit liberior cum terminis suis. Abbati ejusdem tantummodo [4] potestas sit, tam in notis causis quam in ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, et in his etiam quæ sunt super et subtus terram, in aridis et in rivis, in sylvis et in planis, et eandem auctoritatem puniendi et dimittendi delinquentium [5] in ea commissa habeat quam mea curia, quemadmodum mei antecessores concesserunt et statuendo confirmaverunt; videlicet [6] Edwardus pater meus, et [7] Elfredus pater ejus, et Chentwines, Ines, et Chutþredus, et alii quam-

Eâdmund's charter to Glastonbury.

[1] *In circuitu persistentium.*] *D. E. M.*; omitted in *S. C* 2.

[2] *Ecclesiæ.*] *D. E. M.*; ecclesiæ sanctæ, *S. C* 2.

[3] *Quem ibidem abbatem constitui.*] St. Dunstan was appointed abbot of Glastonbury A.D. 942 (Flor. Wigorn.); A.D. 943 (Sax. Chron.) Compare Bridferth, De Vita Sancti Dunstani, Act. SS. 19° Maii.

[4] *Potestas sit.*] *S. D. E. M.*; omitted in *C* 2.

[5] *In ea.*] *S. C* 2. *D. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[6] *Edwardus.*] *S. D. E. M.*; omitted in *C* 2.

[7] *Elfredus.*] *S. D. E. M.*; Ethelfredus, *C* 2.

plures qui locum illum honorantes gloriosum habuerunt. Et ne quisquam mortalium, seu episcopus, vel dux, aut princeps, aut quislibet ministrorum eorum, audeat eam omnino intrare causa placitandi, vel rapiendi, vel quippiam faciendi quod contrarium fore possit inibi Deo servientibus, Dei interdictione prohibeo. Quisquis igitur benevola mente meam donationem amplificare sategerit, in hoc præsenti seculo vita illius prospera, feliciter, longiturnæ [1]vitæ gaudia teneat. Si quis autem propria temeritate violenter invadere præsumpserit, sciat se proculdubio ante tribunal districti judicis titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum, nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare maluerit.' Acta est hæc præfata donatio anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi nongentesimo quadragesimo quarto, [2]indictione secunda; scriptaque est literis aureis in libro evangeliorum quem eidem ecclesiæ obtulit eleganti satis opere compositum.

Assassination of Eâdmund, A.D. 946.

§ 144. [3]Verum tantos et tam felices successus miserandus decoloravit exitus: siquidem latrunculus quidam, [4]Leof, quem propter latrocinia eliminaverat, post sexennium regressus, in solennitate sancti [5]Augustini Cantuariæ [6]archiepiscopi inopinus apud [7]Pukelechirche inter convivas regios assedit, quo scilicet die Angli festive obsoniari solebant pro prædicatoris sui memoria; et

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[1] *Vitæ.*] *D. E. M.*; omitted in *S. C* 2.

[2] *Indictione secunda.*] *C* 2. *D. F. M.*; omitted in *E.*; indictione prima, *S.*

[3] *Verum . . . accepit.*] *A. S. C* 2. *D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *C* 1. but inserted apparently in the same hand with the rest of the MS.

[4] *Leof.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; Leva, *A. L.*

[5] *Augustini.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; Augustini Anglorum apostoli, *S.*

[6] *Archiepiscopi.*] *A. C. D. E. L. M.*; primi archiepiscopi, *S.*

[7] *Pukelechirche.*] *E.*; Pugrescerne, *D.*; Puchelecerce, *C.*; Pulchresecerne, *A.*; Pukelecerne, *L.* — Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire.

forte juxta ducem recumbebat quem rex ipse partibus de cœna dignatus fuerat. Id ab eo solo animadversum, cæteris in vina spumantibus; itaque bili concitata, et, ut eum fata agebant, e mensa prosiliens, prædoni in capillos involat, et ad terram elidit: ille latenter sicam de vagina eductam in pectus regis superjacentis quanto potest conatu infigit; [1]quo vulnere exanimatus, fabulæ januam in omnem Angliam de interitu suo patefecit. Latro quoque, mox concurrentibus satellitibus membratim dissectus, prius nonnullos sauciavit. Præviderat tam infamem finem beatus Dunstanus tunc Glastoniensis abbas, dæmonis ante se saltantis gesticulationibus et plausibus edoctus scurrilibus; quocirca equo concito curiam properans, in medio itinere gestæ rei nuncium [2]accepit. [3]Communi ergo decretum consilio, et funus Glastoniam delatum, ibique in aquilonali parte turris magnifice humatum. Id eum voluisse pro familiari abbatis amicitia per nonnulla claruerat indicia; data in inferias villa in qua occubuerat, ut quæ semel conscia fuerat homicidii, semper in posterum pro anima ejus esset adjutrix beneficii.

§ 145. Hujus anno quarto, id est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis [4]nongentesimo quadrage- *Account of William of Normandy.*

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[1] *Quo vulnere exanimatus.*] Eâdmund was stabbed by Leofa on the feast of St. Augustine, Tuesday, 26th of May, indict. IV. A.D. 946 (Flor. Wigorn.; Chron. Frodoardi; some copies of the Saxon Chronicle); but, according to other authorities, on Friday the 26th of May, A.D. 948 (the Laud or Peterboro' copy of the Saxon Chronicle; Sim. Dunelm.; Chron. Ethelwerd.; Vita S. Cuthbert.; MS. Cott. Nero, A. 2.) There is a charter of his successor, King Eadred, dated A.D. 947, indict. V. (MSS. Cott. Aug. II. 83.)

[2] *Accepit.*] *S. C. D. E. F. K. M.*; after 'accepit,' *A. G. H. L.* read 'corpusque suscipiens Glastoniæ sepelivit.'

[3] *Communi . . . beneficii.*] *S.C. D. E. F. K. M.*; omitted in *A. G. H. L.*

[4] *Nongentesimo quadragesimo quarto.*] The best authorities place the assassination of William duke of Normandy on 17th of December, A.D. 943.

simo quarto, Willelmus filius Rollonis, dux Normannorum, [1]dolo in Francia occisus est: quod non immerito factum majores tradunt. Riulfus siquidem, unus procerum [2]Normannicæ gentis, in simultatem, nescio qua de causa, veniens cum Willelmo, multis illum assultibus afflixit. Militabat filius ejus Anschetillus comiti, qui, ut domino placeret, ausus est temerare naturam, ut patrem [3]duello caperet et in potestatem comitis traderet; maximo tamen sacramento credulus, ne quicquam injuriæ præter vincula pateretur. Sed sicut semper nequitia causas malorum comminiscitur, post non multum tempus afficta occasione comes Anschetillum in Papiam dirigit, epistolam de sua ipsius nece ad ducem Italiæ portantem. Ille permenso itinere, urbem introiens, magnifice susceptus est. Porrectis literis dux fraudem miratus diriguit, quod insignis festivitatis miles juberetur interfici: sed quia tantæ famæ comiti resultare non esset consilium, Anschetillum jam civitatem egressum excepit insidiis mille, ut fertur, equitum; ubi ille cum sociis, quos lectissimos ex omni Normannia adduxerat, diu violentiæ restitit, sed tandem, mortem suam multis cæsis compensans, non ignave occubuit. Solus ex utraque parte Balzo Normannus superstes, vir exigui corporis sed immanis fortitudinis: quamvis quidam per ironiam dicant eum Curtum vocatum, solus inquam civitatem obsedit, solus cives gladio suo, quoad visum est, exterruit. Hoc incredibile non judi-

[1] *Dolo in Francia occisus est.*] Compare William of Jumiéges, lib. III. cap. 10, 11, 12; Chron. Sithiens. a Johann. Iperio, c. 23; and Chron. Sancti Martini Turonensis (ex Bibliotheca Thuana; ed. Fr. Chesn. tom. III. p. 358.)

[2] *Normannicæ gentis.*] *C. D. E.*; Normanniæ, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Duello.*] *S. E. L.*; duellio, *A. C. D.*

cabit qui cogitabit quantum conetur hominis audacis desperatio, et quam parum valeant illi provinciales in prælio. Inde repatrians, querelam apud regem Francorum de domini sui perfidia deposuit, nam et Riulfum fama ferebat in vinculis cæcatum. Quare ad judicium evocatus Parisiis, et ab obvio sibi Balzone sub [1]specie colloquii obtruncatus, in medio, ut aiunt, [2]Sequanæ, perfidiæ suæ, et iræ illius, satisfecit. Interitus ejus diutinam inter Francos et Normannos discordiam peperit, donec per industriam Ricardi filii ipsius finem accepit virtute sua dignum. [3]Porro veraciores literæ dicunt, illum, contractis inimicitiis cum Ernulfo comite Flandriæ, unum ex castellis ejus pervasisse; a quo simulata voluntate fœderis ad colloquium evocatum, consertoque sermone in navi per Balzonem obtruncatum: clavem ad ejus cingulum inventam, seræque familiaris scrinii compositam, monachilium indumentorum [4]intus involutorum [5]indicium fecisse quod semper inter bella meditaretur [6]monachus fore apud Gimegium, quem locum, a tempore Hasteng desertum, ipse fructicosis sentibus eruderaverat, et ad hunc statum qui modo est principali indulgentia erexerat.

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[1] *Specie.*] *S. C. D. E. M.*; spe, *A. L.*

[2] *Sequanæ.*] The Seine is here written incorrectly for the Somme.

[3] *Porro veraciores literæ dicunt.*] William of Jumiéges relates that Arnoul count of Flanders, having invaded the castle of Montreuil belonging to one Count Herluin, who thereupon sought the protection of William duke of Normandy, a conference was appointed between the duke and Arnoul at Picquigny on the Somme, when the count's chamberlain, Balzo le Court, effected the duke's assassination. (Bouquet, IX. 78.)

[4] *Intus.*] *A. S. C. D. L. M.*; omitted in *E.*

[5] *Indicium.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; inditím, *E.*

[6] *Monachus.*] *A. D. E. M.*; modo, *S. C. L.*

DE REGE EDREDO.

Eadred, A.D. 946.

§ 146. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [1]nongentesimo quadragesimo sexto, Edredus, tertius ex filiis Edwardi, regnum suscipiens, rexit annis novem et dimidio. Ejus magnanimitas a patre et fratribus non degenerans, hanc summam dedit; Northanhimbros et Scottos facile ad sacramentum suæ fidelitatis adactos, et mox fœdifragos, quodam [2]Iricio rege super se statuto, pene ex hominibus delevit, tota provincia fame ferroque fœdata. Archiepiscopum Eboraci Wulstanum, qui compatriotis in transfugio connivere diceretur, diu in vinculis tentum, postea, clericalis reverentiæ respectu, venia donatum laxavit. Ipse interea sanctorum pedibus acclinis Deo, et Dunstano vitam suam devoverat; cujus monitis [3]tortiones crebras corporis patienter ferre, orationes continuare, prorsus palatium suum gymnasium

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[1] *Nongentesimo quadragesimo sexto.*] According to Florence of Worcester, Eadred was consecrated at Kingston, by Odo archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 946. By some authorities his accession is placed in the year 948. See note [1], p. 229.

[2] *Iricio rege super se statuto.*] Snorre relates that Erik Blodöxe, son of Harald king of Norway, received Northumbria from King Aethelstân. (Saga Hakonar Goda, c. III. p. 127.) There is no certainty as to the date of Erik's accession, or of his death. The northern historians place his expulsion from the throne of Norway in the year 938, his acceptance of the kingdom of Northumbria in 939, and his death in 952. Compare Sax. Chron. A.D. 948—954. From this period Northumbria was governed by earls, a catalogue of whom may be found in Hoveden.

[3] *Tortiones crebras corporis.*] Bridferth, in his Life of St. Dunstan, describes Eadred as having suffered from illness during his whole reign; and that at meals, after swallowing only the juices of the meat, he was obliged to spit out the food he had masticated, to the great discomfort of his guests. (Acta SS. 19° Maii.) This account probably gave rise to Wallingford's absurd story, related in his chronicle, that King Eadred, having lost his teeth by reason of old age, could not chew his meat; and, the broths they made for him not being sufficient to keep him alive, he died of hunger.

virtutum facere. [1]Decessit magno luctu hominum, sed gaudio angelorum prosecutus; siquidem Dunstanus, nuncio ægrotantis audito, cum illuc sonipedem calcaribus urgeret, vocem desuper tonantem audierit, 'Modo rex Edredus obdormivit in Domino.' Requiescit Wintoniæ in episcopatu. His death, A.D. 955.

DE REGE EDWIO.

§ 147. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [2]nongentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, Edwius, filius [3]Edmundi superioris regis, regno potitus, tenuit annis quatuor; petulans adolescens, et qui [4]speciositate corporis in libidinibus abuteretur. Denique proxime cognatam invadens uxorem ejus forma deperibat, sapientium consilia fastidiens. Ipso quippe die quo in regem [5]sacratus, frequentissimo consessu procerum, dum de rebus seriis et regno necessariis inter eos ageretur, e medio, quasi ludibundus, prorupit in triclinium et [6]in complexum ganeæ devolutus. Fremere omnes facti verecundiam, Eadwy, A.D. 955.

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[1] *Decessit.*] Eadred died at Frome on the 23rd of November, —A.D. 955, according to Florence of Worcester; A.D. 955—956, Saxon Chronicle; and A.D. 957, according to the computation in Aethelweard's chronicle. Tyrrel observes that "this king did not, as many believe, die without issue; and that his two sons, Elfrid and Berefrid, were witnesses to certain ancient charters cited by Speed."

[2] *Nongentesimo quinquagesimo quinto.*] The accession of Eadwy, in some copies of the Saxon Chronicle, is referred to the year 955, and in others to the year 956.

[3] *Edmundi.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Edmundi fratris Ethelstani, *A. S.*

[4] *Speciositate.*] *S. C. E.*; sub speciositate, *A. D. L. M.*

[5] *Sacratus.*] *E.*; sacratus fuerat, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[6] *In complexum ganeæ devolutus.*] This story is related in all the lives of St. Dunstan. Bridferth alone mentions the name of Aelfgyfa; Edmer and a MS. Life of St. Dunstan (Cott. MSS. Nero, E. I.) state that she was 'ex magna et alta progenie nata, filiam adultam secum habens;' but all agree that there were two women, mother and daughter. Malmesbury, in his Life of St. Dunstan, repeats the same account.

et inter se mussitare; solus Dunstanus, [1]juxta nominis sui firmitatem, nihil regale supercilium veritus, lascivientem juvenculum violenter e cubiculo abstraxit, et [2]per Odonem archiepiscopum pellicem repudiare coactum, perpetuum sibi inimicum fecit. Mox etenim, miserrimis satellitibus subnixus, omnes in tota Anglia monastici ordinis homines, prius nudatos facultatum auxilio, post etiam deportatos exilio, calamitatibus indignis affecit. Ipsum Dunstanum, monachorum primicerium, [3]in Flandriam propellit. Ea tempestate facies monasteriorum fœda et miserabilis erat; [4]nam et Malmesbiriense cœnobium, plusquam ducentis septuaginta annis a monachis inhabitatum, stabulum clericorum fecit. Sed tu, Domine Jesu, creator et recreator noster, bone artifex, multumque potens formare nostra deformia per illos homines irregulares et vagos, thesaurum tuum tot annis abditum in lucem propalasti, beati Aldelmi corpus dico, quod ipsi de terra elevatum in scrinio locarunt. Accessit clericorum gloriæ regalis liberalitas, ut daret sancto prædium, amplitudine et vicinitate ipsa peropportunum. Cæterum longe horret nostra memoria quam immanis fuerit in reliqua cœnobia, et propter ætatis lubricum, et propter pellicis

Dunstan banished, A.D. 956.

[1] *Juxta nominis sui firmitatem.*] A similar expression occurs in Osberne, De Vita S. Dunstani: 'Sed ille, juxta etymologiam nominis sui, ut mons persistens immobilis.' In Anglo-Saxon DUN signifies a *hill*, and STAN a *stone*.

[2] *Per Odonem archiepiscopum pellicem repudiare coactum.*] The Saxon Chronicle states, that in the year 958, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, separated King Eadwy and Aelfgyfa, because they were too nearly related.—Compare Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 958.

[3] *In Flandriam propellit.*] Dunstan was banished A.D. 956, and was honourably received by Arnoul count of Flanders. Concerning the place of his banishment, see Adlardus Blandiniensis, De Vita S. Dunstani.

[4] *Nam et Malmesbiriense . . . peropportunum.*] This paragraph occurs almost word for word in Malmes. De Vita Aldhelmi. (Angl. Sacr. pars II. 32.)

consilium, quæ tenerum jugiter obsidebat animum. Sed ignoscat dolori meo anima, jamdudum in requie collocata [1]per Dunstani interventum: dolor, inquam, me cogit illum adjudicare, quia privata utilitas publico damno non præjudicat, imo commune dispendium privato commodo præponderat. Luit ille pœnas ausus temerarii etiam hac in vita, [2]maxima parte regni mutilatus. Qua injuria percussus [3]vivendi finem fecit, Wintoniæ in novo monasterio tumulatus. Death of Eadwy, A.D. 959.

DE REGE EDGARO.

§ 148. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo quinquagesimo nono, Edgarus, honor ac deliciæ Anglorum, filius Edmundi, frater Edwii, juvenculus annorum sexdecim, regnum adipiscens, eodem annorum numero ferme tenuit. Res ejus multum splendide etiam nostro celebrantur tempore. Affulsit annis illius divinitatis amor propitius, quem ipse mercabatur sedulo devotione animi et vivacitate consilii. Denique vulgatum est, quod, [4]eo nascente, angelicam vocem Dunstanus [5]exceperit, 'Pax Angliæ quamdiu puer iste regnaverit, et Dunstanus noster vixerit.' Respondit veritas rerum cœlesti oraculo: adeo illis viventibus splendor ecclesiasticus effloruit, et tumultus bellicus emarcuit; nec ullus fere annus in Chronicis præteritus est quo non mag- Eadgar, A.D. 959.

[1] *Per Dunstani interventum.*] The soul of the king, by the prayers of Dunstan, is said to have been released from the devils who were carrying it away. See Osbern. De Vita S. Dunstani, in Angl. Sacr. pars II. 107.

[2] *Maxima parte regni mutilatus.*] The rebellion of the Mercians occurred A.D. 957, and Eadgar was chosen as their king.

[3] *Vivendi finem fecit.*] Eadwy died on the 1st of October, A.D. 959.

[4] *Eo nascente.*] A.D. 943. Compare Bridferth's Life of St. Dunstan.

[5] *Exceperit.*] *D. E. M.*; excepit, *A. S. C. L.*

num et necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit, quo non monasterium novum fundaverit. Nullas insidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum, sensit. Regem Scottorum Kinadium, Cumbrorum Malcolmum, [1]archipiratam Mascusium, omnesque reges Walensium, quorum nomina fuere Dufnal, Giferth, Huual, Jacob, Judethil, ad curiam coactos, uno et perpetuo sacra-
A.D. 973. mento sibi obligavit; adeo ut, apud [2]civitatem Legionum sibi occurrentes, in pompam triumphi [3]per fluvium De illos deduceret. Una enim navi impositos, ipse ad proram sedens remigare cogebat; per hoc ostentans regalem magnificentiam, qui subjectam haberet tot regum potentiam. Denique fertur dixisse tunc demum posse successores suos gloriari se reges Anglorum esse, cum tanta honorum prærogativa fruerentur. Unde factum est, ut, fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipsi etiam Dani, huc frequenter annavigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti: quorum adventus magnum provincialibus detrimentum peperit, quod a Saxonibus animorum inconditam ferocitatem, a Flandritis corporum enervem mollitiem, a Danis potationem discerent; homines antehac in talibus integri, et naturali simplicitate sua defensare, aliena non mirari. Inde merito jureque culpant eum literæ; nam cæteras infamias, quas post dicam, magis resperserunt cantilenæ.

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[1] *Archipiratam Mascusium.*] 'Maccus plurimarum rex insularum.' (Flor. Wigorn.)

[2] *Civitatem Legionum.*] *i. e.* Chester.

[3] *Per fluvium De illos deduceret.*] *S. C* 2. *E. L.*; per fluvium Deiros deduceret, *A. D.*; per fluvium illos deduceret, *C* 1. —The celebration of Eadgar's triumph on the Dee occurred in the year 973.

DE SANCTO DUNSTANO.

§ 149. Eo tempore micuerunt per Angliam sanctorum virorum lumina, ut crederes e cœlo arridere sidera. Quorum sæpe nominatus [1]Dunstanus, prius abbas Glastoniæ, post episcopus Wigorniæ, mox archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, multæ in seculo potentiæ, magnæ apud Deum gratiæ, illic Martham, isthic exhibebat Mariam. Ipse artium liberalium in tota insula post regem Elfredum excitator mirificus; ipse [2]regularium locorum reparator munificus; [3]in reges et delinquentes duces insonare terribile, pauperes et mediocres juste sustentare. In tantum et in frivolis pacis sequax, ut quia compatriotæ in tabernis convenientes, jamque temulenti pro modo bibendi contenderent, [4]ipse clavos argen-

Account of St. Dunstan.

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[1] *Dunstanus.*] The life of St. Dunstan appears to have been a favourite theme with the monkish writers. It has been written by Osberne, a monk and precentor of Christchurch, Canterbury; by Bridferth, a monk of Ramsey; by Adalard, a monk of Blandigni (St. Peter's, in Ghent); by Edmer; by an anonymous writer, a contemporary of Bridferth; and by Malmesbury, in two books, which still exists only in MS. Dunstan was made abbot of Glastonbury in the year 942, bishop of Worcester in 957, and afterwards in the same year he was translated to London; he was appointed to the see of Canterbury in 959, and in the following year went to Rome to receive the pall from Pope John XII. (Flor. Wigorn.)

[2] *Regularium.*] *E.*; regalium, *A. S. C. D. L. M.*

[3] *In reges et delinquentes duces insonare terribile.*] He imposed upon King Eadgar a seven years' penance, part of which was to abstain from wearing his crown during that period, for deflouring Wilfreda, a nun of Wilton; and when he discovered King Eadwy with Aelfgyfa, he tore the king violently from his mistress, and, placing the crown upon his head, brought him before Odo archbishop of Canterbury. (Osbern. De Vita S. Dunstani.)

[4] *Ipse clavos argenteos vel aureos jusserit vasis affigi . . . cogeret.*] Hence the phrase 'to drink to the pin.' The custom of drinking to the pin is, however, supposed to have been introduced into England by the Danes, who fixed a pin inside of the wassail bowl; and to drink exactly to the pin was a feat only to be acquired by long practice. Malmesbury elsewhere observes, that it was King Eadgar who, to restrain excessive drink-

teos vel aureos jusserit vasis affigi, ut dum metam suam quisque cognosceret, non plus, subserviente verecundia, vel ipse appeteret, vel alium appetere cogeret. Plura, et non contemnenda, de viro volentem dicere revocat Cantuariæ cantor [1]Osbernus, qui ejus vitam Romana elegantia composuit, nulli nostro tempore stylo secundus, musica certe omnium sine controversia primus. Simul quoniam, si gratia divina comitetur dispositum, proposui post nomina regum, omnium episcoporum Angliæ cujuscunque provinciæ nomina saltim transcurrere, et ad scientiam nostrorum procudere, si quid dignum valuero de antiquitatis moneta exculpere. Veruntamen quantum efficax fuerit, sanctitas et probitas discipulorum suorum indicio est. [2]Adelwoldus ex monacho Glastoniensi abbas Abbendoniensis, idemque post hæc episcopus Wintoniensis, tot et tanta monasteria fecit, quod vix modo videatur credibile ut talia fecerit episcopus urbis unius, qualia vix posset rex Angliæ totius. Fallor, et præcipiti sententia pecco, si non palam sit quod dico. Quantula sunt cœnobia Heliense, Burchense, Thorniense, quæ ille a fundamentis suscitavit et sua industria perfecit; quæ cum

Account of Bishop Aethelwold.

ing, ordained that no man was to drink at one draught below the pin. Archbishop Boniface observes, that drunkenness was so common in his time, that even bishops, instead of preventing, were themselves partakers in it. This kind of drunkenness, however, was forbidden to the clergy in the council of London, A.D. 1102, which decreed that priests should not go to public drinkings, 'nec ad pinnas bibant.' See antea, p. 115, note [1].

[1] *Osbernus, qui ejus vitam Romana elegantia composuit.*] Osberne's Life of St. Dunstan is printed in the Anglia Sacra, pars secunda, p. 88, from a MS. in Lambeth Library; another copy is in the British Museum (Cott. Tiber. D. III. fol. 119), in which nearly the whole of the second book is wanting. See also Acta SS. (19° Maii.)

[2] *Adelwoldus.*] Aethelwold was educated under St. Dunstan, and was made bishop of Winchester A.D. 963. He died 1st Aug. A.D. 984.

semper exactorum vellicet nequitia, sunt nihilominus habitatoribus suis sufficientia. [1] Hujus vitam Wulstanus, quidam cantor Wintoniensis, discipulus ejus scilicet et alumnus, composuit stylo mediocri. Fecit et aliud opus De Tonorum Harmonia valde utile, eruditi Angli indicium, homo vitæ bonæ et eloquentiæ castigatæ. Tunc quoque [2] Oswaldus, [3] Odonis archiepiscopi (qui ante Dunstanum fuerat) nepos, ex monacho Floriacensi Wigorniæ episcopus, et Eboraci archiepiscopus, titulos non inferiores cæteris promeruit: nam, [4] easdem terens orbitas, monachorum regulam jure suo ampliavit, et [5] monasterium Ramesiæ in quodam palustri loco ædificavit. Sedem episcopalem Wigorniæ, clericis non vi expulsis [6] sed sancta arte circumventis, Account of Bishop Oswald.

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[1] *Hujus vitam Wulstanus.*] Wulstan's Life of Aethelwold has been printed by Mabillon (sæc. v. Act. Bened.) It relates all that is contained in Aelfric's Life of Aethelwold, and often in the same words, but adds some things which the earlier life has not.

[2] *Oswaldus.*] Oswald was made bishop of Worcester A.D. 960, and translated to York A.D. 972. He died on the 29th of February A.D. 992. His life was written by Edmer, and is printed in the Anglia Sacra, pars secunda, p. 191, from a MS. in C.C.C. Cant.

[3] *Odonis.*] Odo was translated from Winchester to the see of Canterbury A.D. 934: he died A.D. 958. Compare Anglia Sacra, pars I. p. 101.

[4] *Easdem terens orbitas.*] Some most important reforms in the church were effected during the reign of Eadgar by Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and Aethelwold bishop of Winchester.

[5] *Monasterium Ramesiæ in quodam palustri loco ædificavit.*] Ramsey abbey was built by Ailwini, the alderman duke of the East-Angles, at the instigation of Oswald, as appears by Edmer, De Vita S. Oswaldi: 'Cœnobium vero Ramesiense, ejus instinctu et operatione, a fundamentis ædificatum est.'

[6] *Sed sancta arte circumventis, replevit monachis regularibus.*] Upon the reformation of ecclesiastical societies by King Eadgar, Oswald founded a new cathedral in the old churchyard, in which he placed a prior and monks: the secular canons of the old church, finding the people desert it, soon took the monastic habit. See Edmer, De Vita S. Oswaldi, Angl. Sacr. pars II. p. 202. Compare Malmesb. De Gest. Pont. lib. III.

replevit monachis regularibus. [1]Expulerat antea regali jussione Adelwoldus clericos de Wintonia, qui cum, [2]data sibi optione ut aut regulariter viverent aut loco cederent, magis vitam mollem elegissent, tunc tota insula incertis vagabantur sedibus. Ita his tribus viris agentibus, quasi triformi lumine Angliam serenante, densæ vitiorum tenebræ [3]evanuere. [4]Quo factum est, ut Edgarus Glastoniensem ecclesiam, quam semper præ omnibus dilexit, magnis possessionibus amplificaret; et in omnibus, quæ ad ecclesiæ decorem sive utilitatem pertinent, tam interius quam exterius invigilaret. Privilegium sane, quod eidem ecclesiæ contulit, huic nostræ historiæ, sicut in eorum antiqua scedula legi, non est absurdum inserere.

Eadgar's charter to Glastonbury abbey.

§ 150. '[5]In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Quamvis decreta pontificum et verba sacerdo-

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[1] *Expulerat . . . de Wintonia.*] The secular priests were expelled from the old minster at Winchester in the year 963, by command of King Eadgar. (Thom. Rudborne, Historia Major Winton. Angl. Sacr. pars I. p. 218.)

[2] *Data sibi optione.*] Glossed in *L.* 'a rege scilicet.'

[3] *Evanuere.*] *A. L.* omit all the text from 'evanuere' to § 152, 'Tunc ordo monasticus;' *C* 1. omits all to § 154, 'Interea non indecens.'

[4] *Quo factum est . . . inserere.*] *S. C* 2. *D. E. F. K. M.*

[5] *In nomine Domini.*] See this charter of King Eadgar in Malmesb. De Antiquitate Glaston. Ecclesiæ. (Gale, III. 320.) The date as it there occurs is A.D. 971, indict. XIV.

Sections 150, 151 occur in *D. E. F. M.*; omitted in *S. C* 2. *K.* which read instead, 'Gloriosæ recordationis Edgarus, Anglorum rex, filius Aedmundi regis, cujus studium divinis cultibus potissimum invigilabat, ad monasterium sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ in Glestingebiri frequenter adveniens, et eundem locum clariori præ cæteris dignitate extollere summo elaborans studio, plura admodumque magnifica privilegia contulit, communi episcoporum, abbatum, primorumque provinciæ consilio. Quorum primum est ut nullus nisi ejusdem loci monachus ibidem fungatur abbatis nomine vel officio; nec alius nisi quem secundum tenorem regulæ concorditer elegerit parilis conventus assensio. Quod si alterius loci abbatem vel monachum eidem loco præfici necessitas ingruerit, non alium assumi censuit nisi quem congregatio ipsius monasterii secundum timorem Dei sibi præesse elegerit: tamen ne hoc fiat, observato omnimodis si ibidem

tum, velut fundamenta montium, inconvulsis ligaminibus fixa sint, tamen plerumque tempestatibus et turbinibus secularium rerum religio

quispiam, vel extremus congregationis, illi officio aptus reperiri potuerit. Monachis itaque electionem sui abbatis perpetuo manere censuit; sibi vero, suisque hæredibus, tribuendi fratri electo pastoralem baculum potestatem retinuit. Sanxit etiam, ut quotiens abbas loci vel monachi aliquos suorum sacris ordinibus insigniri decernerent, a quocunque præsulum canonice ordinatum, aut in illius sede aut in eodem sanctæ Mariæ Glestingensi monasterio tam monachos quam cleros, quos idoneos judicarent ad titulum sanctæ Mariæ ordinari, facerent. Concessit etiam ut sicut ipse in propria, ita totius insulæ causas in omnibus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus negotiis, absque ullius contradictione abbas aut conventus corrigeret. Nec illi omnino insulam nativitatis suæ consciam, sive episcopus, sive dux, aut princeps, aut cujuscunque ordinis alius, licitum foret intrare, causa quippiam faciendi quod contrarium inibi Deo servientibus esse possit, sicut et prædecessores sui sanxerunt, et privilegiis confirmaverunt; videlicet Cenwines, Ines, Athellardus, Cuthredus, Elfredus, Edwardus, Ethelstanus, Aedmundus, omnino prohibuit. Ubi ergo generali assensu, ut dictum est, pontificum, abbatum, optimatumque suorum, hæc privilegia ipso loco conferre disposuit, lituum proprium ebore decentissime formatum, auroque decoratum, super altare sanctæ Dei genitricis posuit; ipsiusque donatione eidem sanctæ Dei genitrici ac suis monachis ea perpetualiter possidenda attribuit. Eundem quoque lituum mox in sui præsentia fecit secari per medium, ne eum cuiquam dare vel vendere posset quilibet abbatum sequentium, præcipiens partem illius servari in loca ad jam dictæ donationis perenne testimonium. Recogitans vero quam multa temeritas humanæ levitatis, quibusque solet surrepere, verensque ne forte quis in posterum vel hæc privilegia loco illi auferre, vel monachos inde moliretur ejicere, inclito domino Johanni papæ, qui Octaviano in regiminis honore successerat, direxit idem chirographum regiæ liberalitatis, orans ut et hæc ipse roboraret scripto auctoritatis apostolicæ. Qui, benigne directam suscipiens legationem, concordi assensu Romani concilii sancita ab iis firmavit scribendo apostolicæ auctoritatis præceptionem; terribiliter intorquens in violatores, si qui forte emerserint, perpetui anathematis ultionem. Igitur domini prædicti apostolici eidem loco directum testamentum venustæ recordationis rex Edgarus super aram beatissimæ Dei genitricis Mariæ itidem ad perpetuale posuit monumentum: jubens diligenter asservari in posterum ad notitiam quorumque sequentium. Ea etiam utraque, ne videamur talia commentari, his gratum habuimus subindere adversus eos qui non ut pastores per ostium intrare, sed ut fures et latrones in idem ovile sanctæ Mariæ aliunde quærunt irrumpere.

' "Noverit cunctorum notitia fidelium quod ego Johannes, pii Conditoris clementia sanctæ Romanæ sedis existens indignus

sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ maculis reproborum dissipatur et rumpitur. Iccirco profuturum succe-

papa, gloriosi Anglorum regis Edgari, nec non et sanctæ Dorovernensis ecclesiæ archipræsulis Dunstani, submisso pulsatus rogatu pro monasterio sanctæ Mariæ, videlicet Glastingebiri, quod ipsi acti amore superni Regis in multis et magnis possessionibus ditaverant, monachorum inibi multiplicantes normam, præceptoque regali firmaverant, quod et ipse facere non differam. Quorum assentiens benignæ petitioni, in sinu Romanæ ecclesiæ et beatorum apostolorum protectione eundem locum suscipio, et privilegiis astruo et corroboro; quo fine tenus, in eo quo nunc pollet permaneat monachali ordine. Ipsique monachi de suis sibi adhibeant pastorem. Ordinatio vero tam monachorum quam clericorum in arbitrio abbatis et conventus sit. Decernimus etiam ut nulli omnino hominum eandem insulam placitandi causa, vel aliquid aliud ibi perscrutandi aut corrigendi, intrare liceat. Si quis autem id molitus fuerit contraire, aut possessiones ejusdem ecclesiæ auferre, retinere, minuere, vel temerariis vexationibus fatigare, ex auctoritate Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sanctæque Dei genitricis Mariæ, ac sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, omniumque sanctorum, perpetuæ sit addictus maledictioni, nisi resipuerit. Omnibus vero eidem loco justa servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen. Nostraque stipulatio inconvulsa permaneat." Actum tempore Aelfuuardi ejusdem monasterii abbatis.

'Hæc igitur prædictus rex Edgarus duodecimo anno regni sui sacro scripto Lundoniæ confirmavit; eodemque anno, qui fuit nongentesimus sexagesimus quintus Dominicæ incarnationis, papa Johannes Romæ in generali synodo auctorizavit; cunctosque potioris dignitatis, qui præfuerunt eidem concilio generali, ea corroborare imperavit. Perpendant ergo contemptores tantæ interminationis, quantæ subjaceant sententiæ excommunicationis: et quidem beato Petro apostolo principi apostolorum, Christus ligandi solvendique præsulatum, clavesque regni cœlorum, simul tradidit. Cuique autem constat perspicuum atque evidens, quod hujus apostoli vicarius, potestatisque potissimum sit hæres, Romanæ ecclesiæ præsidens. Huic sanctæ memoriæ Johannes laudabiliter præfuit suo tempore, ut hodieque viget gloriosa recordatione, promotus ad id Dei totiusque populi electione. Si ergo decretum beati Petri apostoli ratum, consequenter et Johannis apostolici ratum. Sed nemo vel demens ratum esse Petri apostoli decretum denegat; nemo igitur sanæ mentis dissimile fore Johannis apostolici decretum repugnat. Aut isti itaque concedentes beato Petro suisque successoribus collatam a Christo potestatem, transgredi cessabunt tanti interdictus auctoritatem; aut flocci-pendentes, cum diabolo suisque complicibus præscriptæ maledictionis sibi adquirent perpetuitatem. Constat ergo neminem extraneorum idem cœnobium sibi præripuisse, quem non constiterit (nec sine dedecore) amisisse; nullaque monachorum machinatione, sed Dei judicio ob sanctæ auctoritatis ul-

dentibus posteris esse [1]decernimus, ut ea, quæ salubri consilio et communi assensu diffiniuntur, nostris literulis roborata firmentur. Quapropter dignum videtur ut ecclesia beatissimæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ Glastoniæ, sicut ex antiquo principalem in regno meo obtinet dignitatem, ita speciali quadam et singulari privilegii libertate per nos honoretur. Hoc itaque Dunstano Dorobernensi atque Oswaldo Eboracensi archiepiscopis adhortantibus, consentiente etiam et annuente [2]Brihtelm Fontanensi episcopo, cæterisque episcopis, abbatibus et primatibus meis, ego [3]Edgar, divina dispositione rex Anglorum, cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector, in nomine almæ Trinitatis, pro anima patris mei qui ibi requiescit, et antecessorum patrum meorum, præsenti privilegio decerno, statuo, confirmo ut prædictum monasterium omnisque possessio ejus ab omni tributo fiscalium negotiorum nunc et in perpetuum libera et quieta maneant, et habeant socam et sacam, on strande, on streame, on wude, on felde, and on grithbrice, on burhbrice, hundredsetena, [4]morðas, [5]aðas, and ordeles, ealle hordas [6]bufan eorðan and beneoðan, infangeneþeof, and utfangeneþeof, and flemeneferþe, hamsochene,

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tionem, id cuique eorum accidisse. Nemo itaque hæc legens despiciat, nemo vel subirascendo se palam notabilem faciat. Nam si irascitur pro alio, forte prolatum de se dictum fatebitur.'

[1] *Decernimus.*] *E.*; decrevimus, *D.*

[2] *Brihtelm Fontanensi episcopo.*] The exact date of Brihthelm's appointment to the bishoprick of Wells is not known: he was translated to Canterbury upon the death of Elfsine (who was frozen to death on the Alps in his journey to Rome for his pall); but he held the primacy only a few days, and was removed back to Wells. He died on the 15th of May, A.D. 973.—See Angl. Sacr. pars I. pp. 101. 556; pars II. pp. 109. 682.

[3] *Edgar.*] *E.*; Edgarus, *D.*

[4] *Morðas.*] *E.*; murdres, *D.*

[5] *Aðas.*] *E.*; hathes, *D.*

[6] *Bufan eorðan and beneoðan.*] *E.*; buven herthe and binethen herthe, *D.*

frithbriche, forsteal, tol, and team, ita libere et quiete sicut ego habeo in regno meo. Eandem quoque libertatem et potestatem, quam ego in curia mea habeo, tam in dimittendo quam in puniendo, in quibuslibet omnino negotiis [1]abbas et monachi præfati monasterii in sua curia habeant. Si autem abbas vel monachus quislibet loci illius latronem, qui ad suspendium vel ad quodlibet mortis periculum ducitur, obvium habuerit in itinere, habeant potestatem eripiendi eum ab imminenti periculo in toto regno meo. Confirmo etiam et corroboro ut, quod hactenus ab omnibus antecessoribus nostris diligenter observatum est, [2]Fontanensis episcopus vel ejus ministri super hoc monasterium vel super parochiales ejusdem ecclesias, videlicet, Stret, Mirelinch, Budecalege, Sceappic, Sowi, aut super earum capellas, nec etiam super eas quæ in insulis continentur, scilicet, Beocherie, quæ Parva Hibernia dicitur, Godenie, Mertinesie, Patheneberge, Edredesie, Ferremere, nullam omnino potestatem habeant, nisi tantum cum ab abbate causa dedicandi vel ordinandi advocati fuerint; nec eorum presbyteros ad synodum suam vel ad capitulum vel ad quodlibet placitum convocent, nec ab officio divino suspendant, et omnino nullum jus in eos exercere præsumant. Monachos suos, et prædictarum ecclesiarum clericos, secundum antiquam Glastoniensis ecclesiæ consuetudinem, et apostolicam auctoritatem, archipræsulis Dunstani et omnium episcoporum regni mei assensu, abbas a quocumque comprovinciali episcopo voluerit ordinari faciat; dedicationes vero earum, si ab abbate rogatus fuerit, Fon-

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[1] *Abbas.*] *E.*; abbates, *D.*

[2] *Fontanensis episcopus.*] Bishop of Wells.

tanensi episcopo permittimus. In Pascha quoque crisma sanctificationis et oleum a Fontanensi episcopo ex more accipiat, et per præfatas ecclesias suas distribuat. Hoc vero præcipue Dei interdictione et nostra auctoritate, salva tamen sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et Dorobernensis dignitate, prohibeo ne persona cujuscumque potestatis, sive rex, sive episcopus, sive dux, aut princeps, vel quilibet ministrorum meorum Glastoniæ terminos vel supradictarum parochiarum, perscrutandi, rapiendi, placitandi gratia, vel aliquid aliud faciendi quod contrarium possit esse ibidem Deo servientibus, intrare præsumat; abbati tantummodo et conventui potestas sit, tam in notis causis quam in ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, et omnibus omnino negotiis, sicut supra memoravimus. Quisquis autem hujus mei privilegii dignitatem qualibet occasione, cujuscumque dignitatis, cujuscumque ordinis, cujuscumque professionis, pervertere vel in irritum deducere sacrilega præsumptione amodo tentaverit, sciat se proculdubio ante districtum judicem titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum, nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare studuerit.' Hanc privilegii paginam prædictus rex Eadgarus, duodecimo anno regni sui, sacro scripto apud Londoniam communi consilio optimatum suorum confirmavit. Eodemque anno, qui fuit [1] nongentesimus sexagesimus quintus Dominicæ incarnationis, indictione quarta decima, papa [2] Johannes hanc ipsam paginam Romæ in generali synodo auctorizavit, cunctosque potioris

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[1] *Nongentesimus sexagesimus quintus Dominicæ incarnationis, indictione quarta decima.*] A.D. 971 corresponds with the fourteenth indiction, as also with the twelfth year of Eadgar's reign.

[2] *Johannes.*] John XIII. presided from the year 965 to the 5th of September A.D. 972.

dignitatis viros, qui præfuerunt eidem concilio, confirmare fecit, necnon epistolam Alurico duci, præfatam ecclesiam graviter persequenti, paterna motus pietate in hæc verba direxit.

Epistle of Pope John XIII.

§ 151. 'Johannes episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Alurico inclito duci, amantissimo filio nostro spirituali, salutem continuam et apostolicam benedictionem. Relatione quorundam fidelium comperimus te plurima agere mala in ecclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, quæ nuncupatur Glastingaburh, quæ totius [1]Britanniæ prima, et ab antiquis primoribus ad proprietatem et tutelam Romani pontificis pertinere dinoscitur, et prædia, ac villas, sed et ecclesias de Brente, de [2]Piltune, quas, Ina rege dante operam, cum aliis ecclesiis quas [3]juste et canonice possidet, scilicet, Soweie, Stret, Merlinc, Budecal, Sapepice, ab ejus jure tua avida cupiditate diripuisse; et propter quod eidem loco [4]propinquam haberes habitationem illi semper nocuum esse. Oportunum autem extiterat ut tuo suffragio sancta Dei ecclesia, cui propinquus habitando effectus es, perplurimum accresceret, et copia tui adjutorii proprietatibus ditaretur; sed, quod nefas est, tuo decrescit impedimento, tuaque humiliatur oppressione: et quia, licet indigni, non dubitamus nos a beato Petro apostolo omnium ecclesiarum curam omniumque suscepisse solicitudinem, [5]ideo tuam admonemus dilectionem ut, pro amore apostolorum Petri et Pauli nostraque veneratione, ab ipsius loci cesses direptione, nil de ejus proprietatibus, ecclesiis, capellis, villis et possessionibus in-

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[1] *Britanniæ.*] *E.*; Angliæ, *D.*
[2] *Piltune.*] *E.*; Wiltuna, *D.*
[3] *Juste.*] *E.*; adhuc juste, *D.*
[4] *Propinquam haberes habitationem illi semper nocuum esse.*] Propinqua heres habitatione illi semper nocuus esse, *D. E.*
[5] *Ideo.*] *E.*; adeo, *D.*

vadens: quod si hæc [1]feceris, scias [2]te vice apostolorum principis nostra auctoritate excommunicatum, et a cœtu fidelium remotum, perpetuoque anathemati submissum, et æterno igni, cum Juda proditore, perenniter mancipatum.'

§ 152. [3]Tunc ordo monasticus, jamdudum lapsus, [4]præcipue caput erexit: unde factum est ut [5]etiam monasterium [6]nostrum denuo in pristinam libertatem evaderet; quod convenientius opinor ipsius regis verbis notificare.

§ 153. '[7]Ego Edgarus, totius Albionis basileus, nec non maritimorum seu insulanorum regum circumhabitantium, adeo ut nullus progenitorum meorum subjectione, largiflua Dei gratia suppetente, sublimatus; quid imperii mei potissimum Regi regum Domino darem, tanti memor honoris, solertius sæpe tractavi. Piæ igitur fautrix devotionis pervigili meæ studiositati superna subito insinuavit pietas, quæque in regno meo sancta restaurare monasteria, quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis tigno tenus visibiliter diruta: sic, quod majus est, intus a servitio Dei ferme vacua fuerant neglecta. Idiotis nempe [8]clericis ejectis, nullius regularis religionis disciplinæ subjectis, plurimis in locis sanctioris [9]seriei scilicet monachici habitus [10]præfeci pastores, ad ruinosa quæque [11]templorum redintegranda [12]opu-

Eadgar's charter to Malmesbury abbey.

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[1] *Feceris.*] *E.*; non feceris, *D.*

[2] *Te.*] Omitted in *D. E.*

[3] *Tunc.*] *S. C 2. D. E. F. K. M.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[4] *Præcipue.*] *S. C 2. D. E. F. K. M.*; tunc, *A. L.*

[5] *Etiam.*] *S. C 2. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[6] *Nostrum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; 'nostrum' struck out, and 'Malmesberiense' inserted in *C 2.*

[7] *Ego Edgarus.*] King Eadgar's charter to the monastery of Malmesbury is likewise to be found in Ingulphus. (Gale, I. 47.)

[8] *Clericis ejectis.*] Glossed in *L.* 'per me dicit Edgarus.'

[9] *Seriei.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; a blank left for the word in *E.*

[10] *Præfeci.*] Glossed in *L.* 'Ego Edgarus;' præfecti, *C 2. D.*

[11] *Templorum.*] *S. C. E. L.*; temporum, *A. D. M.*

[12] *Opulenta.*] *D. E. M.*; opulentos, *A. C 2. L.*

lenta eis fiscalium munerum exhibens sumptus; quorum unum, nomine Elvricum, virum in omnibus ecclesiasticum, famosissimi constitui custodem cœnobii quod Angli bifario vocitant onomate Maldelmesburh. Cui pro commoditate [1]animæ, ob Salvatoris nostri, ejusque Θεοτόκου semper virginis Mariæ, necnon apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Aldelmique almi præsulis, honorem, particulam terræ,'—et [2]nominat terram,—'cum pratis et silvis, munifica liberalitate restitui. Hæc a prædictis accommodata clericis, a contentioso injuste possessa est Edelnotho; sed superstitiosa subtilique ejus disceptatione [3]a sapientibus meis audita, et conflictatione illius mendosa ab eisdem, me præsente, convicta, monasteriali a me reddita est usui, anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo septuagesimo quarto, [4]regni vero mei quartodecimo, regiæ consecrationis primo.'

Eadgar's vision.

§ 154. Interea non indecens opinor si quiddam, quod ei divinitus ostensum est, stylo commendem. Venerat in saltum venationis feracem; utque fit plerumque, sociis ad insequendas feras per devia dispersis, solus remanserat: itaque, continuatione cursus ad egressum nemoris perveniens, constitit, sodales operiens. Nec mora, gravante nutantia lumina somno, pedes efficitur, ut transacti laborem diei temperaret [5]medicæ quietis

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[1] *Animæ.*] *D. E. M.*; animæ meæ, *A. C 2. L.*

[2] *Nominat.*] In all the MSS. the sense is incomplete. The omission may be supplied from the words in Malmesbury, De Vita Aldhelmi, (Angl. Sacr. pars II. p. 33,) which are, 'particulam terræ x. videlicet manentium vocabulo Estotim cum pratis et sylvis munifica liberalitate restitui.'

[3] *A sapientibus meis audita, et conflictatione.*] *S. C. D. E. L. M.*; omitted in *A.*

[4] *Regni vero mei quartodecimo, regiæ consecrationis primo.*] Eadgar was not consecrated king until the 11th of May, A.D. 973; but he must have completed the fourteenth year of his reign before the year 974, as he ascended the throne A.D. 959. See note [2], p. 254.

[5] *Medicæ.*] *E. L.*; modicæ, *A. S. C. D. E 2.*

voluptas. Jacebat ergo sub malo silvatica stratus, ubi penduli per circuitum rami foliatam effecerant cameram. Lassitudine itaque suadente, rivus subter scatebris loquacibus fluens soporem invitabat: cum canis fœmina, cui cura ferarum vestigia insequi, prægnans, et juxta pedes accubans, dormitantem exterruit; namque, matre tacente, catuli alvo inclusi latratus multiformes et sonoros reddidere, quodam nimirum sui carceris gaudio incitati. Hoc monstro attonitus, dum ad cacumen arboris oculos intendit, [1]videt poma, unum et alterum, delapsa in fluvium; quorum collisione bullis aquatilibus inter se crispantibus, vox articulata insonuit, 'Wel his the!' id est, 'Bene est tibi!' Nec multo post, undarum voluminibus agentibus, urceolus super aquam apparuit, et post urceolum urceus exundans aqua; nam alter vacuus erat: et quamvis crebro gurgitis impulsu [2]major minorem urgeret, ut scilicet aquas suas in illum infunderet, nunquam tamen obtinere potuit quin urceolus vacuus recederet, iterumque quasi superbo gestu victor urceum impeteret. Domum itaque regressus, [3]ut dicit psalmista, exercitabatur, et scopebat spiritum suum. Sed convenit eum mater, ut serenaret frontem et animum: sibi studio futurum, [4]ut appeteret Deum, qui nosset ænigmata inspiratione sua patefacere. Quo admonitu [5]retudit ille mœstitiam, et solvit in otio curas, conscius maternæ sanctitatis, cui soleret Deus multa revelare. Erat ea vocabulo Elfgifa, bonis operibus intenta, pietate et dulcedine prædita, ut etiam

[1] *Videt.*] *A. C. E. L.*; vidit, *S. D.*

[2] *Major minorem.*] *C. D. E. L.*; majorem minor, *A. S.*

[3] *Ut dicit psalmista.*] Psalm LXXVII. 6.

[4] *Ut appeteret Deum.*] *E* 2.; ut a parte Domini, *C. E.*; ut aperiente Domino, *D.*; ut appellaret Deum, *A. S. L.*

[5] *Retudit.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; retulit, *E.*

reos, quos tristis sententia judicum palam damnaverat, ipsa occulte redimeret. Pretiosus amictus, qui plerisque mulieribus est leno solvendi pudoris, illi erat supellex munificentiæ, ut quamlibet operosam vestem conspecto statim largiretur pauperi. Speciem corporis et artificium manuum in ea livor quoque laudaret, cum nihil reprehendere posset. Hæc igitur, intimis medullis vaticinium combibens, postero mane filio dixit: 'Latratus catulorum, quem matre quiescente dedere, significat quod post obitum tuum, quiescentibus illis qui modo valent et vivunt, nondum nati nebulones contra Dei latrabunt ecclesiam. Sane quod unum pomum secutum est alterum, ita ut ex collisione secundi in prius videretur vox sonuisse "Wel his the!" hoc innuit, quod ex te, qui [1]modo arboris totam inumbras Angliam, duo [2]procedent filii; [3]fautores secundi extinguent primum: tunc diversæ partis incentores dicent pueris utrisque "Wel his the!" quia mortuus regnabit in cœlo, vivus in seculo. [4]Jam vero quod urceus major minorem implere non poterat, hoc designat, quod gentes aquilonales, quæ numerosiores sunt quam Angli, Angliam post mortem tuam impetent; et, quamvis crebro compatriotarum adventu ruinas suas suppleant, nunquam hunc angulum mundi poterunt implere, quin potius Angli nostri, cum maxime victi videbuntur, eas expellent, eritque sub suo et Dei arbitrio usque ad præfinitum tempus a [5]Christo.'

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[1] *Modo arboris totam inumbras Angliam.*] *C. E. L.*; modo arbor es totam inumbrans Angliam, *A. S. D.*

[2] *Procedent.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; procedunt, *L.*

[3] *Fautores.*] *C. D. E. L.*; factores, *A.*; factores vel fautores, *S.*

[4] *Jam vero.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Nam, *A. S.*

[5] *Christo.*] *E.L.*; after 'Christo,' *A.S.* read 'Amen.' The following passage occurs in the margin of

§ 155. Hujus vaticinii veritatem lectio posterior patefaciet. Considerari ergo debet parentis et prolis indubitata sanctitas, quod alter viderit ænigma vigilans sine obstaculo, et altera solverit problema de longe porrecto prophetiæ [1]oculo; sanctitatique morum communicabat severitatis animositas [2]ut nullum cujuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret. Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alienas grassari propriæ vitæ dispendio. Quomodo enim ausus [3]hominum præteriret, qui etiam omnis generis feras sanguinis avidas ex regno exterminare cogitaret, Judvaloque regi Walensium edictum imposuerit ut sibi quotannis tributum trecentorum luporum pensitaret; quod cum tribus annis fecisset, quarto destitit, nullum se ulterius posse invenire professus.

Eadgar's good qualities.

§ 156. Præterea licet, ut fertur, staturæ fuerit et corpulentiæ perexilis, tantas vires in illo corpusculo dignatio naturæ incluserat, ut ultro ad congrediendum lacesceret quemcunque audacem nosset; hoc maxime timens, ne in tali colludio timeretur. Denique in quodam convivio,

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C 2.: 'Idem rex Edgarus, silvam quandam ingressus gratia venandi, forte vocem vagientis parvuli depræhendit. Qui diligenter rem fecit inquiri. Et demum in summitate cujusdam arboris, in nido aquilæ, inventus est puerulus formæ elegantis, geminis armillis in brachiis et aliis ornamentis regiis insignitus, quasi in signum summæ ingenuitatis; quem rex diligenter nutritum, et summo studio eruditum, tandem provexit in comitem.'

[1] *Oculo.*] *C. D. E. L.*; oraculo, *A. S.*

[2] *Ut nullum cujuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret.*] Eadgar's laws for the punishment of offenders were horribly severe. The eyes were put out, nostrils slit, ears torn off, hands and feet cut off, and finally, after the scalp had been torn off, the miserable wretches were left exposed to birds or beasts of prey. V. Acta SS. Jul. 2, in Vita Swythuni. (Sharpe, 183.) See some of Eadgar's Laws, Decem Script. vol. I. col. 871.

[3] *Hominum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E.*

ubi se plerumque fatuorum dicacitas liberius ostentat, fama est Kinnadium regem Scottorum ludibundum dixisse, mirum videri tam vili homuncioni tot provincias subjici; [1]idque a quodam mimo sinistra aure acceptum, et Edgaro postmodum solemni convitio in os objectum. At ille, re suis celata, Kinnadium, quasi magni mysterii consultandi gratia, accersiit, longeque in sylvam seducto, unum ex duobus, quos secum attulerat, ensibus tradidit; 'Et nunc,' inquit, 'licebit vires tuas experiare cum soli simus. Jam enim faxo ut appareat quis alteri merito supponi debeat; tu quoque ne pedem referas quin mecum rem ventiles. Turpe est enim regem in convivio esse dicaculum, nec esse in prælio promptulum.' Confusus ille, nec verbo mutire ausus, ad pedes domini regis procidit, simplicis joci veniam precatus, et confestim consecutus. Quid illud? omni æstate, emensa statim Paschali festivitate, naves per omnia littora coadunari præcipiebat; ad occidentalem insulæ partem cum orientali classe, et illa [2]remensa cum occidentali ad borealem, inde cum boreali ad orientalem remigare consuetus; pius scilicet explorator, ne quid piratæ turbarent. Hyeme et vere per omnes provincias equitando, judicia potentiorum exquirebat, violati juris severus ultor: in hoc justitiæ, in illo fortitudini studens; in utroque reipublicæ utilitatibus consulens.

His vices. § 157. Sunt qui ingenti ejus gloriæ nævum tentent apponere, dicentes, primis temporibus fuisse crudelem in cives, libidinosum in virgines. Verbi gratia prioris exemplum ponunt: Athelwoldus erat quidam, sui temporis comes egregius

[1] *Idque.*] C. D. E.; itaque, A. S. L.

[2] *Remensa.*] C. E.; remissa, A. S. D. L.

et a secretis; huic rex injunxerat negotium, ut Elfridam filiam Orgari ducis Devenensium, quæ forma sui oculos relatorum pellexerat quatenus eam regiis auribus commendarent,—huic, inquam, præceperat ut illam iret speculatum, nuptias conciliaturus si veritas famæ conquadraret. Ille viam celerans, nihilque præter opinionem comperiens, celato apud parentes nuncio, suis potius usibus puellam applicuit. Rediens ad regem, [1]quæ suis partibus conducerent, allegat speciei vulgaris et quotidianæ pusiolam esse, nec tantæ majestati convenire. Reducto ab his animo et aliis amoribus intento, delatores nunciant quanta illum Athelwoldus astutia emunxerit. Ille clavo clavum expellens, fraude scilicet fraudem eludens, frontem serenam comiti ostendere, diem quo visitaret tam laudatam mulierem quasi joco edicere. Qui, tam terribili ludo exanimatus, præcurrit ad conjugem, rogans ut suæ saluti consuleret, et quantum posset vestibus se deformaret; tunc primum aperiens facti sui consilium. Sed quid non præsumit fœmina? ausa est [2]miseri amatoris et primi conjugis fidem fallere, et speculo vultum comere, nihil omittens quod ephœbi et potentis lumbos pertentaret. Nec citra propositum accidit. Visam enim adeo inarsit, ut, dissimulato odio, comitem in sylvam [3]Werewelle, gratia venandi accitum, jaculo trajiceret. Ubi cum filius occisi nothus familiari usu supervenisset, et a rege interrogatus esset qualiter ei talis venatio placeret, respondisse fertur, 'Bene, domine rex; quod tibi placet mihi displicere non debet:' quo dicto ita tumentis animum mansue-

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[1] *Quæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; qui, *E.*

[2] *Miseri.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; misera, *L.*; primi, *S.*

[3] *Werewelle.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Werewelle quæ vocatur Harewode, *A. S.*

fecit, ut nihil carius in vita sua post hæc [1]haberet quam juvenem illum; tyrannici facti offensam in patrem sedulitate regia in filium allevans. Ob illius sceleris expiationem ibidem monasterium, ab Elfrida ædificatum, sanctimonialium frequentia inhabitatur.

§ 158. Huic exemplo crudelitatis adjungunt aliud libidinis. Virginis Deo dicatæ audiens pulchritudinem, violenter eam a monasterio abstraxit, abstractæ pudorem rapuit, et non semel thoro suo collocavit. Quod cum aures beati Dunstani offendisset, vehementer ab eo increpatus, [2]septennem pœnitentiam non fastidivit, dignatus rex affligi jejunio, simulque diademate carere septennio.

§ 159. Subjiciunt tertium, in quo utrumque appareat vitium. Rex, inquiunt, Edgarus veniens Andeveram, qui est vicus non longe a Wintonia, cujusdam ducis filiam, cujus formæ fama percrebuerat, adduci præcepit. Mater puellæ, quæ concubinatum filiæ dedignaretur, ancillam, adjuta noctis tenebris, cubili apposuit, virginem sane nec inelegantem nec illepidam. Evoluta nocte, cum aurora in lucem prorumperet, mulier conata surgere, interrogataque quid festinaret, ad opus cotidianum dominæ persolvendum respondit: ægre licet retenta regis genibus super statu miseriarum suarum applorat, pro mercede connubii redderet ingenuitatem; decere magnanimitatem ejus, ut regiæ voluptatis conscia dominorum crudelium ulterius non ingemisceret imperia. Tunc ille, felle commoto, et formidabile

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[1] *Haberet.*] *S. C. D. E.*; rex haberet, *A. L.*

[2] *Septennem . . . septennio.*] This seems to have been founded on the singular circumstance of his not having been crowned till within two years of his death. (Sharpe, p. 186.) Eadgar was crowned A.D. 973. See note [4], p. 248.

ridens, cum in animo ejus fluctuaret hinc de famula miseratio, hinc de domina indignatio, quasi in jocos effusus, usum obsequiorum pœnamque remittit. Mox antiquis dominatoribus (vellent nollent) dominantem magna sublimavit dignatione; dilexit unice, integram lecti uni deferens fidem quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfridam filiam Orgari. De qua [1] Edmundum, qui ante ipsum quinquennio decedens Rumesiæ jacet, et qui post [2] se regnavit, Egelredum, tulit. Nam de Egelfleda, cognomento Candida, filia Ordmeri ducis potentissimi, Edwardum genuit; et sanctam Edgitham de Wulfrida, quam certum est non tunc sanctimonialem fuisse, sed timore regis puellam laicam se velavisse, moxque eandem, abrepto velo, lecto imperiali subactam: unde offensum beatum Dunstanum, quod illam concupisset, quæ vel umbratice sanctimonialis fuisset, vigorem pontificalem in eum egisse.

§ 160. Sed hæc quomodocunque se habeant, illud constat, quod [3] a sextodecimo ætatis anno, quo rex constitutus est, usque ad tricesimum, sine regio insigni regnaverit. Tunc enim principibus, et omnis ordinis viris, undique confluentibus, cum magna gloria in Pentecoste Bathoniæ coronatus est; nec nisi triennio supervixit, sepultusque est Glastoniæ. [4] Nec illud obliterandum, quod, cum abbas Eilwardus ejus tumulum anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quinquagesimo secundo effodisset, invenit corpus

[1] *Edmundum.*] Eadmund died in the year 971, according to Florence; but in 972, according to the Saxon Chronicle.

[2] *Se.*] *D. E.*; eum, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *A sextodecimo ætatis anno . . . regnaverit.*] See note [4], p. 248, and note [2], p. 254.

[4] *Nec illud obliterandum . . . furioso et cæco.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.* which read instead, 'Corpus tunc terra coopertum; sed post, scrinio argenteo et inaurato locatum, pro merito personæ honoratur.' Compare Malmes. De Antiq. Glast. Eccles. (Gale, III. 324.)

nullius labis conscium. Quod cum eum ad reverentiam debuisset inflectere, ad audaciam levavit; nam, quia locellus quem paraverat difficilem pro magnitudine corporis minabatur ingressum, regales exuvias ferro temeravit, unde continuo sanguis undatim emicans astantium corda pavore concussit. Ita regium corpus in scrinio, quod ipsi ecclesiæ contulerat, super altare locatum est cum capite sancti Apollinaris, et reliquiis Vincentii martyris, quæ ille magno empta decori domus Dei adjecerat. Temeratorem porro sacri corporis mox animus reliquit; nec multo post, ecclesia egressum, fracta cervice mors invenit. Nec in his hæsit regiæ sanctitatis ostensio, sed in ulteriora processit, sanato ibi furioso et cæco. [1] Merito ergo non infirma inter Anglos fama est nullum, nec ejus nec superioris ætatis regem in Anglia, recto et æquilibri judicio Edgaro comparandum. Ita nihil vita ejus sanctius, nihil justitia probabilius fuit, exceptis vitiis quæ postea amplis virtutibus delevit; qui patriam suam præclara fortitudine illustrem reddiderit, et rerum gestarum claritate, et Deo servientium multiplicitate: [2] post mortem ejus res et spes Anglorum retro sublapsæ.

Death of Eadgar, A.D. 975.

DE EADWARDO SECUNDO ET MARTYRE.

Eadward the Martyr, A.D. 975.

§ 161. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo septuagesimo quinto, Edwardus filius Edgari regnare cœpit, et tribus annis et dimidio potestate potitus est. Illum Dunstanus, et cæteri episcopi consentanei, regali culmine sublimarunt, contra voluntatem quorundam, ut aiunt, optima-

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[1] *Merito ergo.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Namque non, *A. L.*

[2] *Post mortem ejus.*] King Eadgar died on Thursday, 8th July, A.D. 975.

tum et novercæ, quæ vix dum septem annorum puerulum Egelredum filium provehere conabatur, ut ipsa potius sub ejus nomine imperitaret. Ex tunc malitia hominum pullulante, felicitas regni imminuta. Tunc [1]visus cometes, qui vel pestem provincialium, vel regni mutationem portendere pro vero asseveratur. Nec mora; secuta sterilitas arvi, fames hominum, mors jumentorum. Apud vicum regium qui vocatur Calna casus insolitus. Nam, defuncto Edgaro, clerici quondam ab ecclesiis expulsi rediviva prælia suscitarunt: [2]ingens esse et miserabile dedecus ut novus advena veteres colonos migrare compelleret; hoc nec Deo gratum putari, qui veterem habitationem concessisset, nec alicui probo homini, qui sibi idem timere posset quod aliis præjudicio accidisse cerneret. Ea de re in clamores et iras surrectum, et ad Dunstanum perrectum; præcipue proceribus, ut laicorum est, succlamantibus præjudicium, quod [3]clerici passi fuerant injuste, leniori consilio succidi debere. Nam et unus eorum, Elferius, omnia pene monasteria quæ reverentissimus [4]Adelwoldus construxerat in provincia Merciorum, magna usus insolentia, evertit. Itaque, frequenti synodo coacta, [5]primo

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[1] *Visus cometes.*] Most of the MSS. read 'visa cometes;' *S.* reads 'visæ cometæ.' 'An. 975. Cometes stella autumnali tempore visa est.' (Flor. Wigorn.)

[2] *Ingens.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; before 'ingens,' *S.* reads 'dicentes.'

[3] *Clerici.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E.*

[4] *Adelwoldus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Adelwoldus monachus et Wentanus episcopus, *S.*

[5] *Primo Wintoniam.*] The council of Winchester appears, from Florence and Matthew of Westminster, to have been holden between the death of Eadgar and the consecration of his son Eadward, in 975; but the Chronicon Wintoniense, cited by Spelman, (Concil. Angl. tom. I. p. 491,) places it in the year 968. (See Wharton's note in Anglia Sacra, pars II. p. 112.) Osberne, in his Life of Dunstan, improperly states that the council of Winchester and the council of Calne were both holden during the lifetime of Eadgar.

Wintoniam ventum. Quis ibi fuerit finis certaminis [1]aliæ literæ docent, [2]Dominicam imaginem expresse locutam clericos eorumque fautores confudisse: sed, adhuc non sedatis animis, Calnæ concilium indictum; ubi cum in cœnaculo, absente propter ætatem rege, considentibus totius Angliæ senatoribus magno conflictu et controversia res ageretur, et validissimum illum ecclesiæ murum, Dunstanum dico, multorum convitiorum jacula impeterent, nec quaterent, suas partes cujusque ordinis viris summo studio tuentibus, solarium totum repente cum axibus et trabibus dissiluit et concidit. Omnibus ad terram elisis, solus Dunstanus, stans super unam trabem quæ superstes erat, probe evasit; reliqui vel exanimati, vel perpetui languoris compede detenti. Hoc miraculum archiepiscopo exhibuit pacem de clericis, omnibus Anglis tunc et deinceps in ejus sententiam concedentibus.

§ 162. Interea rex Edwardus fratrem puerulum et novercam pietate congrua colere, solum nomen regis habere, illis cætera permittere, paternæ religionis vestigia rimari, bonis consiliis aurem et animum accommodare: at mulier, novercali odio vipereum dolum ruminans ut nec nomen regis filio deesset, insidias privigno struere, quas hoc modo consummavit. Lassus venatione revertebatur propter laborem siti anhelus; comites, quo quemque casus tulerat, canes consec-

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There appears, however, to be no doubt that the council of Calne was holden in 978, during the life of Eadward the Martyr. Florence, however, assigns it to the year 977.

[1] *Aliæ literæ docent.*] See Osbern. De Vita S. Dunstani. (Angl. Sacr. pars II. p. 112.)

[2] *Dominicam imaginem expresse locutam.*] Ecce Dominici corporis forma, vexillo crucis infixa, atque mediocri domus parte locata, humanos exprimens modos, omnium voces compescuit, dicens: *Absit hoc, ut fiat; absit hoc, ut fiat.* Osbern. De Vita S. Dunstani. (Angl. Sacr. pars II. p. 112.)

tabantur: auditoque quod illi in contigua villa habitarent, equo concito illuc contendit juvenculus solus, nihil propter innocentiam metuens, aliorum quippe animos ex suo ponderans. Tunc illa, muliebri blanditia adventantem alliciens, sibi fecit intendere, et post libata basia porrectum poculum avide haurientem per satellitem sica transfodit; quo vulnere saucius, cum quantis poterat animæ reliquiis sonipedem calcaribus monuisset ad suos reverti, uno pede lapsus, alteroque per [1]devia tractus undante cruore indicia interitus sui se quærentibus dedit. Et tunc quidem [2]sine honore apud Werham sepeliri jusserunt, invidentes scilicet mortuo cespitem ecclesiasticum, cui vivo inviderant decus regium: actitabant igitur publicam et festivam lætitiam, [3]quasi cum corpore pariter infodissent memoriam; sed affuit divinæ serenitatis assensus, qui innocenter cæsum miraculorum [4]sublimavit gloria. Adeo cœlestia judicia humanis præponderant, ibi ostensa de cœlo lumina, ibi claudus gressum composuit, ibi mutus organum resumpsit, ibi prorsus omnis invalitudo sanitati locum fecit. Sparsus rumor per totam Angliam martyris merita prædicabat. Quo excita interfectrix, iter illuc adoriebatur; jamque equum inscensum stimulis urgebat, cum manifestam iram Dei persensit. Animal namque familiare, quo sedere consueverat, antea ventis pernicius, quod auras ipsas præcurreret, tunc nutu Dei stabat immobile: instant ministri, hinc flagris, illinc clamoribus, ut potentem heram qua so-

Eadward assassinated, A.D. 978.

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[1] *Devia.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; devia et saltus, *S.*

[2] *Sine honore apud Werham sepeliri jusserunt.*] Eadward was martyred on the 18th of March A.D. 978.

[3] *Quasi.*] *C. E.*; quas, *D.*; quod, *S.*; quia, *A. L.*

[4] *Sublimavit.*] *A. E.*; sublimaret, *S. C. D. L.*

lebat alacritate eveheret. Cassus labor consumitur, mutato quoque jumento casus idem sequitur; intellexit, licet tarde, brutum pectus quo portentum illud respiceret: quapropter quod [1]ipsa non meruit per alium fieri consensit. Namque Elferius ille quem supra culpavi quod monasteria destruxisset, temeritatis pœnitens mul-
A.D. 979. toque gemitu animum angens, sacro corpori de ignobili loco levato justas et egregias inferias apud Scephtoniam solvit; non tamen effugit, sed post annum vermibus quos pediculos dicimus consumptus est. Et quoniam animus indisciplinatus ipse sibi tormentum est, patiturque suos etiam hic mens anxia manes, Elfrida de illo regali supercilio inclinata dire pœnituit, adeo ut multis annis apud Warewellam carnem in deliciis nutritam cilicio convolveret, noctibus solo strata sine cervicali somnum hauriret, cruces præterea quascunque posset corpori comminiscens; speciosa mulier et pulchre viro sobria, sed quia tantum nefas commisit pœna digna. Creditumque et celebriter vulgatum, quod, propter ejus in Edwardum insolentiam, multo post tempore tota patria servitutem infremuisset barbaricam.

§ 163. Certe apud Sceftoniam splendidum regiæ sanctitudinis refulgurat speculum; quoniam illius meritis deputatur quod eo loci multus devotarum Deo fœminarum chorus, claritate religionis terras istas irradians, etiam ipsa perstringit sidera. Illic sacræ virgines nullius penitus corruptelæ consciæ, illic religiosæ continentes post primi thori dampna secundi ignis nesciæ; in quarum omnium moribus ita facetus pudor cum severa consentit elegantia, quod nihil

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[1] *Ipsa.*] *C. D. E.*; per se, *A. S. L.*

supra. Denique incerto hæreas quid potissimum prædicare velis, an assiduitatem ad Dei famulitium, an affabilitatem ad hominum colloquium; unde non injuria credulitas apponitur dicentibus, quod per illarum orationes totus sustentatur orbis, qui jampridem suis vacillat peccatis.

DE REGE ETHELREDO.

§ 164. [1]Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo septuagesimo nono, Ethelredus, filius Edgari et Elfridæ, regnum adeptus, obsedit potius quam rexit annis triginta septem. Ejus vitæ cursus sævus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu asseritur: ita parricidio, cui conniventiam adhibuerat, immanis; ita fuga et mollitie infamis, ita morte miserabilis fuit. Ignaviam ejus prædixerat Dunstanus, fœdo exemplo admonitus: nam cum pusiolus in fontem baptismi mergeretur, circumstantibus episcopis, [2]alvi profluvio sacramenta interpolavit; qua re ille turbatus, 'Per Deum,' inquit, 'et matrem ejus, ignavus homo erit!' Vidi scriptum, quod cum, decennis puer, fratrem necatum conclamari audiret, fletu suo furentem genitricem adeo irritavit, ut, quia flagellum ad manum non habebat, arreptis candelis innocentem cæderet, nec prius desisteret quam pene exanimem et ipsa lachrymis infunderet. Quapropter tota vita ita candelas exhorruit in posterum, ut nunquam ante se pateretur inferri lumen earum. Matris suffragio, proceribus congregatis, dies dicta ut Dunstanus

Aethelred, A.D. 978.

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[1] *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo septuagesimo nono.*] Aethelred succeeded his brother A.D. 978, and was crowned on the 14th April following. (Flor. Wigorn.)

[2] *Alvi profluvio sacramenta interpolavit.*] A similar story is related of the emperor Constantine the Fifth, who derived the surname of Copronymus from his pollution of his baptismal font.

adveniret regem jure archiepiscopi coronaturus; ille, licet infensus esset, supersedit resistere, pontifex ævi maturioris, et in secularibus emeritus. Jam vero diadema componens, non se [1]continuit quin spiritum propheticum totis medullis haustum ore pleno effunderet: '[2]Quia,' inquit, 'per mortem fratris tui aspirasti ad regnum, [3]propterea audi verbum Domini, Hæc dicit Dominus Deus, non delebitur peccatum ignominiosæ matris tuæ, et peccatum virorum qui interfuerunt consilio illius nequam, nisi multo sanguine miserorum provincialium; et venient super gentem Anglorum mala qualia non passa est ex quo [4]Angliam venit usque ad tempus illud.' [5]Nec multo
A.D. 980. post, id est, anno ejus tertio, venerunt Hamtonam, portum juxta Wintoniam, septem naves piratarum, et populata ora maritima refugerunt in altum; quod ideo non præterii, quia multus sermo apud Anglos fertur de his ratibus.

DE IGNAVIA ETHELREDI ET INFESTATIONE DANORUM.

A.D. 986. § 165. [6]Surrexerat inter [7]regem et episcopum Rofensem [8]simultas, incertum qua de causa; quocirca contra civitatem exercitum duxit, mandatum ei ab archiepiscopo ut [9]furori desisteret, nec sanctum Andræam, in cujus tutela episco-

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[1] *Continuit.*] *S. C. D. E.*; conticuit, *A. L.*

[2] *Quia . . . ad tempus illud.*] Compare Osbern. De Vita S. Dunstani, Angl. Sacr. pars II. p. 113.

[3] *Propterea.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[4] *Angliam venit.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Anglia fuit, *A. S.*

[5] *Nec multo post, id est, anno ejus tertio.*] Southampton was burnt by the Danes in 980, according to the best copy of the Saxon Chronicle. Florence and others also fix that event in 980.

[6] *Surrexerat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; surrexerunt, *C.*

[7] *Regem.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; regem ipsum, *S.*

[8] *Simultas.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; simultates, *C.*

[9] *Furori.*] *C. D. E.*; furore, *S.*; furorem, *A. L.*

patus est, irritaret, sicut ad indulgendum facilem, ita ad ulciscendum terribilem. Verborum nuditate contempta, adornat præceptum pecunia, et mittit centum libras ut obsidionem solveret, pretio emptus abiret; quo ille accepto receptui cecinit, per cinctum militum feriari permisit. Miratus Dunstanus hominis cupiditatem, hæc per nuncios retulit: 'Quoniam prætulisti argentum Deo, pecuniam Apostolo, cupiditatem mihi, velociter venient super te mala quæ locutus est Dominus; sed hæc me vivente non fient, quia et hæc locutus est Dominus.' Jam vero [1] post beati viri obitum, qui decimo anno regni ejus fuit, properant impleri prædicta, festinant consummari prænunciata. [2] Danis enim omnes portus infestantibus, et levitate piratica ubique discurrentibus, dum nesciretur ubi eis occurri deberet, decretum a [3] Siricio archiepiscopo, post Dunstanum secundo, ut repellerentur argento qui non poterant ferro. Item decem millia librarum soluta cupiditatem Danorum explevere: exemplum infame et viris indignum, libertatem pecunia redimere, quam ab invicto animo nulla violentia possit excutere. Et tunc quidem paulisper ab excursibus cessatum; mox, ubi vires otio resumpserunt, ad superiora reditum. [4] Tunc timor Anglos incesserat ut nihil de resistendo

A.D. 988.

Danish invasion.

[1] *Post beati viri obitum.*] Dunstan died on Saturday the 19th of May, in the year 988, in the 29th year of his archprelacy, and 61st of his age.

[2] *Danis enim omnes portus infestantibus.*] Southampton, the isle of Thanet, and Cheshire were ravaged by the Danes in 980; Cornwall in 981; the isle of Portland in 982, and Watchet in 988, where the Danes were defeated; and Ipswich in 991.

[3] *Siricio.*] Sigeric, or Siric, succeeded Aethelgar in the see of Canterbury A.D. 990. Upon Ipswich being sacked by the Danes in 991, and Brihtnoth the alderman slain, the archbishop advised that a tribute of ten thousand pounds be paid to them to depart from the country. See Sax. Chron.

[4] *Tunc.*] *C. D. E.*; Tantus, *A. S. L.*

cogitarent; si qui sane, antiquæ gloriæ memores, obviare et signa colligere tentassent, hostium multitudine et sociorum defectione destituebantur. Defectionis signifer fuit Elfricus quidam,
A.D. 992. quem congregatis navibus rex præfecerat, qui, cum navali certamine fortunam experiri debuisset, nocte qua dies pugnæ illucescebat transfuga vilis ad hostes concessit, prius per nuncios monitos quid caverent; et quamvis pro culpa perfidiæ [1]filium ejus rex excæcari jusserit, iterum rediit, iterumque defecit. Northanhimbria tota populata, hostes pugna excepti et fugati
A.D. 994. sunt; [2]Londonia obsessa, sed a civibus probe defensa. Quocirca obsessores afflicti, et desperantes posse capi civitatem, discesserunt, totamque provinciam ab oriente vastantes, regem ad pecuniam sedecim millium librarum solvendam coegerunt; quin etiam regem eorum Analafum datis obsidibus ad se venire fecit, baptizatum de fonte suscepit, et, regali munificentia donatum, sacramento constrinxit ne unquam reverteretur in Angliam. Sed non sic malum quievit; nam semper, ut Hydræ capitibus, hostibus ex Denemarcia pullulantibus, nusquam caveri poterat. [3]Occidentalis provincia, quæ Devenescire

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[1] *Filium ejus rex excæcari jusserit.*] Aelfgâr, son of Duke Aelfric, was deprived of his sight by command of the king in the year 993. (Flor. Wigorn. and Sax. Chron.)

[2] *Londonia obsessa.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that Anlaf and Sweyn came to London on the nativity of St. Mary, A.D. 994, with ninety-four ships, and assaulted the city very sharply, endeavouring to burn it; but they were bravely repulsed by the citizens.

[3] *Occidentalis provincia, quæ Devenescire vocatur ... et Exonia urbe incensa.*] The incursion of the Danes into Devonshire appears to have been in the year 997, and again in 1001, in which year Exeter was ravaged. The Laudian and Cottonian copies of the Saxon Chronicle differ very much on this subject from the Cambridge copy of the same chronicle. Exeter was besieged again by Sweyn in the year 1003.

vocatur, pessundata; eversis monasteriis et Exonia urbe incensa: Cantia deprædationi data, urbs metropolis et patriarcharum sedes conflagrata; [1]ipse patriarcha, sanctus et reverentissimus vir, Elfegus, abductus et in vinculis tentus; ad [2]extremum, cum rusticos suos expilare ad se cogeretur redimendum et abnueret, lapidatus et securi percussus, anima cœlum glorificavit. Occisum Deus sublimat; adeo ut Dani, qui in necem ejus grassati fuerant, viso miraculo quo lignum aridum sanguine ipsius litum sub nocte una reviruerat, [3]certatim colla subjicerent. Ita naturali cervicositate substrata, sacrum corpus Londoniam evehi patiuntur. Ibi glorifice sepultum, [4]et post decem annos ab omni corruptionis labe immune levatum, archiepiscopium suum nobilitavit. Durat ad hoc tempus et recens sanguis et illibata integritas, miraculoque ducitur posse cadaver exanimari et non posse tabefieri. Et ne longum faciam, sigillatim enumeratis provinciis quas vastaverunt, hoc sit ad summam complecti, quod, cum numerentur in Anglia triginta duo pagi, illi jam sedecim invaserant, quorum nomina propter barbariem linguæ scribere

Aelfheáh murdered, A.D. 1012.

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[1] *Ipse patriarcha . . . in vinculis tentus.*] Canterbury was besieged by the Danes A.D. 1012, and Archbishop Aelfheáh was captured and murdered by them. His life was written by Osberne, and is printed in the Anglia Sacra, pars II. p. 122, from a MS. in Lambeth library. MSS. Cott. Otho, A. XII., Vitel. D. XVII., and Tiber. D. III. (injured by fire) also contain Osberne's Life of Aelfheáh.

[2] *Extremum.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; ultimum, *A.*

[3] *Certatim colla.*] *C. E.*; before 'certatim colla,' *A. S. L.* read 'certatim oscula defuncti ruerent;' *D.* reads 'certatim in oscula irruerent.'

[4] *Et post decem annos ab omni corruptionis . . . archiepiscopium suum nobilitavit.*] The body of Aelfheáh was translated from London to Canterbury in the year 1023. Osberne also wrote a History of the Translation of Aelfheáh's body. It is printed in the Anglia Sacra, pars II. p. 143, from the Cotton. MS. Tiber. D. III.

refugio. Rex interea strenuus, et pulchre ad dormiendum factus, tanta negotia postponens, oscitabat; et si quando resipuerat ut vel cubito se attolleret, confestim, vel gravante desidia, vel adversante fortuna, in miserias recidebat. Exagitabant illum umbræ fraternæ, diras exigentes inferias. Quis possit enumerare quotiens exercitum congregaverit? [1]quotiens naves fabricari jusserit? quotiens duces undecunque evocaverit, et nihil unquam horum processerit? Nam exercitus principe carens, et disciplinæ militaris ignarus, aut ante congressionem dilabebatur, aut in ipso conflictu facile cedebat. Valet multum in bellis ducis præsentia, valet spectata in talibus audacia, valet usus et maxime disciplina; quibus, ut dixi, carens exercitus, provincialibus irrecuperabili dispendio, hostibus miserabili erat ludibrio. Est illud hominum genus, si non coerceatur ante bellum, in rapinas promptum; si non animetur in bello, ad fugam pronum. Naves ad tutandam oram maritimam fabricatas, cum in anchoris constitissent, repente coorta tempestas corripuit, et collisas inter se disjectis armamentis inutiles reddidit. Paucæ, de reliquiis multarum factæ, impetu cujusdam Wulnodi, quem rex exlegatum ejecerat, submersæ vel incensæ, spem totius Angliæ fefellerunt. Duces si quando ad concilium convenissent, pars hoc, pars illud eligere; vix, aut nunquam, in bonam sententiam convenire. Magis enim de simultatibus domesticis quam de publicis necessitatibus consultabant. Jam vero si quid, urgente periculo, utile et arcanum decrevissent, statim ad Danos per proditores deferebatur: nam præter Elfricum, Elferii, qui superiorem regem occiderat, succes-

[1] *Quotiens naves fabricari jusserit.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

sorem, erat in talibus improbe idoneus Edricus, quem rex comitatui Merciorum præfecerat; fæx hominum et dedecus Anglorum, flagitiosus helluo, versutus nebulo, [1]cui nobilitas opes pepererat, [2]lingua et audacia comparaverat. Hic dissimulare cautus, fingere paratus, consilia regis ut fidelis venabatur, ut proditor disseminabat. Sæpe, ad hostes missus pacis mediator, pugnam accendit. Cujus perfidia cum crebro hujus regis tempore, tum vel maxime sequentis apparuit: de qua posterius dicam. Solus ex omnibus comes Orientalium Anglorum [3]Ulkillus et tunc A.D. 1004. impigre contra invasores restitit; ita ut, quamvis nomen victoriæ ad hostes concessisset, multo plus afflicti qui vicerant, quam qui victi erant, æstimarentur. Nec sane piguit barbaros veritatem confiteri, cum multotiens illam victoriam deplorarent. Et emicuit præcipue post mortem Edelredi virtus comitis [4]in illo bello quod omnem A.D. 1016. florem provinciæ demessuit; ubi et ipse a tergo circumventus, dum cedere pudori ducit, audaciam regi sanguine peperit suo. Sed hæc postmodum. Tunc vero, ne quid miseriæ regi Edelredo deesset, fame per totam Angliam debacchante, vulgus, quod bello reliquum erat, absumptum inedia. Hostes adeo libere in regione vagabantur, ut per quinquaginta millia prædam per terram ad naves convectarent, nullas provincialium insidias formidantes. His malis undique circum strepentibus, rursus consilium volutabatur ut pecunia bellum levaretur; et factum est: nam prius

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[1] *Cui nobilitas.*] *C. E. L.*; cui non nobilitas, *A. S. D.*

[2] *Lingua.*] *C. E. L.*; sed lingua, *A. S. D.*

[3] *Ulkillus.*] Ulfcytel defeated the Danes near Thetford, A.D. 1004. See Florence of Worcester, and Saxon Chron. A.D. 1004.

[4] *In illo bello quod omnem florem provinciæ demessuit.*] The battle fought at Ashingdon, in Essex, where Ulfcytel was slain, A.D. 1016.

viginti quatuor millia libræ, mox triginta millia datæ; quod quantum profecerit, sequens tempus ostendit. Veruntamen multa mihi cogitanti mirum videtur cur homo, ut a majoribus accepimus, neque multum fatuus, neque [1] nimis ignavus, in tam tristi pallore tot calamitatum vitam consumpserit. Cujus rei causam si quis me interroget, non facile respondeam; nisi ducum defectionem, ex superbia regis prodeuntem. Illorum perfidiam sermo præoccupavit: de ipsius insolentia nunc dicam, qua adeo intolerabilis erat ut nec propriis affectibus parceret. Nam præter Anglos, quos nullis causis extantibus exhæredabat, vel affiсto crimine opibus emungebat; præter Danos, quos levibus suspicionibus [2] omnes
A.D. 1002. uno die in tota Anglia trucidari jusserat,—ubi fuit videre miseriam, dum quisque carissimos hospites, quos etiam arctissima necessitudo dulciores effecerat, cogeretur prodere, et amplexus gladio deturbare; præter hæc ergo etiam in [3] uxorem adeo protervus erat [4] ut vix eam cubili dignaretur, sed cum pellicibus volutatus regiam majestatem infamaret. Illa quoque conscientiam alti sanguinis spirans in maritum tumebat, quod se nec pudor ingenuus, nec fœcunditas commendaret; nam duobus liberis, [5] Elfredo et Edwardo, penates viri compleverat. [6] Ea fuerat filia Ri-

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[1] *Nimis.*] *C. D. E.*; multum, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Omnes uno die in tota Anglia trucidari jusserat.*] The massacre of the Danes took place on the 13th of November in the year 1002.

[3] *Uxorem.*] Glossed in *L.* 'Emmam scilicet.'

[4] *Ut vix eam cubili dignaretur.*] *A.C.D.E.L.*; ut eam vix dignaretur, *S.*

[5] *Elfredo.*] Aelfred was afterwards slain by the treachery of Earl Godwin.

[6] *Ea fuerat filia Ricardi comitis Normanniæ.*] Emma Aelfgiva. She married Aethelred in 1002; and after his death she became the wife of King Cnut, in July 1017. She died in 1052. Compare Encomium Emmæ, 4to. Lond. 1783.

cardi comitis Normanniæ, filii Willelmi, qui post patrem quinquaginta duobus annis illi ducatui præfuit, et [1] octavo decimo anno hujus regis vitam [2] terminavit. Jacet apud Fiscannum cœnobium, quod ipse, aliquantis redditibus ampliatum, regula monastica per Willelmum quendam abbatem Divionensem insigniverat. Vir eximius, qui etiam Edelredum sæpe injuriis pulsaverit: quod cum auditum Romæ esset, non passa sedes apostolica [3] duos Christianos digladiari, misit in Angliam Leonem Treverensem episcopum ut pacem componeret; cujus legationis epistola hæc est.

EPISTOLA [4] JOHANNIS PAPÆ.

§ 166. '[5] Johannes quintus decimus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ papa, omnibus fidelibus. Noverint omnes sanctæ matris nostræ ecclesiæ fideles, et nostri utriusque ordinis per clymata seculi dilatati, qualiter nobis relatum est a compluribus de inimicitia Edelredi Saxonum Occidentalium regis necnon et Ricardi marchionis; unde nimium tristis effectus, utpote de filiis nostris spiritualibus, tandem, inito salubri consilio, accersivi quendam apocrisiarium nostrum, Leonem videlicet episcopum sanctæ Treverensis ecclesiæ, et misi eum illuc cum literis nostris exhortatoriis,

Epistle of John XV, called XVI.

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[1] *Octavo decimo anno hujus regis vitam terminavit.*] Richard died on the 20th of November, A.D. 996.

[2] *Terminavit.*] *C. D. E. L.*; finivit, *A. S.*

[3] *Duos Christianos digladiari.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; duos duces Christianos inter se decertare, *A.*

[4] *Johannis papæ.*] The rubric of *E.* erroneously adds, 'qui et Gerbertus dictus est.' See note [2], p. 271.

[5] *Johannes.*] *S.C.D.E.L.*; Johannes hujus nominis, *A.*—This is the epistle of Pope John XV, sometimes called XVI, who presided from 985 to 996. John, son of Robert, was elected after the death of John XIV. (in March 985); but, dying before he was consecrated, he is not usually reckoned among the popes, although his successor is sometimes styled John XVI. He died previously to the month of July in the year 985.

ut resipiscerent ab hac superstitione. Qui, transiens vastas intercapedines terrarum, tandem marinos transmeavit fines, et in die Natalis Domini pervenit ante conspectum regis præfati, moxque ex parte nostra salutato obtulit literas quas illi miseramus; qui, accersitis cunctis sui regni utriusque ordinis fidelibus sapientioribus, ob amorem et timorem Dei omnipotentis, necnon et sancti Petri apostolorum principis, et per nostram admonitionem paternam, firmissimam concessit pacem, cum omnibus filiis suis et filiabus præsentibus et futuris, et cum omnibus fidelibus suis, sine dolo. Qua de re misit Edelsinum sanctæ Scireburnensis ecclesiæ præsulem, necnon et Leofstanum filium Alfwoldi, atque Wistani filium Edelnodum, qui transierunt marinos fines, et pervenerunt usque ad Ricardum præfatum marchionem. Qui et monita nostra pacifice suscipiens, simulque audiens decretum suprafati regis, libenti animo eandem pacem firmavit, cum filiis et filiabus suis præsentibus et futuris, et cum omnibus fidelibus suis, eo rationis tenore, ut, si aliquis eorum vel ipsi injuste aliquid contra alterum perpetraverint, digna emendatione purgetur. Paxque maneat stabilis perpetualiter et inconvulsa, sacramentorum utriusque partis stigmate stipulata. Ex parte scilicet Edelredi regis, Edelsinus præsul sanctæ Scireburnensis ecclesiæ, et Leofstan Alfwoldi filius et Edelnodus Wistani filius: ex parte Ricardi, Rogerus episcopus, Rodulfus Hugonis filius, Turstenc filius Turgis. Actum Rotomago kalend. Martii, anno ab incarnatione Domini nongentesimo nonagesimo [1] primo, indictione quarta.

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[1] *Primo.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; omitted in *D.*

Et de hominibus regis vel inimicis suis nullum Ricardus recipiat, nec rex de suis, sine sigillo eorum.'

DE [1]GERBERTO.

§ 167. [2]Decedente hoc Johanne, successit Gregorius. Ei item Johannes sextus decimus. Illi Silvester, qui et Gerbertus, de quo non absurdum erit (ut opinor) si literis mandemus quæ per omnium ora volitant. Ex Gallia natus, monachus a puero apud Floriacum adolevit: mox cum [3]Pytagoricum bivium attigisset, seu tædio monachatus, seu gloriæ cupiditate captus, nocte profugit Hispaniam, animo præcipue intendens ut astrologiam et cæteras id genus artes a Saracenis edisceret. [4]Hispa-

Gerbert, afterwards Pope Silvester II.

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[1] *Gerberto.*] *E.* reads 'eodem Gerberto.'

[2] *Decedente hoc Johanne, successit Gregorius. Ei item Johannes sextus decimus. Illi Silvester, qui et Gerbertus, de quo.*] *A. D. M.*; De hoc sane Johanne, qui et Gerbertus dictus est, *S. C. E. F. G. K. L.*—Several early and valuable MSS. read as in the text; but *E.* the manuscript usually followed, and some others, confound John XV, called XVI, with Silvester II. whose name was Gerbert, and to whom all the legends related of him by Malmesbury are clearly intended to refer. Gerbert was born in Auvergne, of an obscure family, and from his infancy was educated in the abbey of Aurillac in Auvergne. He was afterwards abbé of Bobio in Lombardy, and then became chief of the school of Rheims, and archbishop of that see in the year 992, from which he was removed by Pope John XV, called XVI, in 995; but in the year 998 he was transferred (by favour of the emperor Otho III. whose preceptor he had been,) to the see of Ravenna, where he remained until he obtained the papacy. He was enthroned on the 2nd of July, A.D. 999.

[3] *Pytagoricum bivium.*] The double path of Pythagoras is represented by the old Greek γ, or the letter y. 'Pythagoræ bivium ramis patet ambiguis γ.' (Ausonius, Idyll. de Litter. Monosyll. XII. 9.) And Lactantius, VI. 6, says, 'Dicunt humanæ vitæ cursum y litteræ esse similem; quia unusquisque hominum, cum primum adolescentiæ limen attigerit, et in eum locum venerit partes ubi se via findit in ambas, (Virg. A. VI. 540,) hæreat nutabundus.'

[4] *Hispania . . . in jus Gothorum concesserat.*] Spain was invaded by the Suevi, Vandals, Alani, &c. in 409; and Adolphus, king of the Goths, marched into Spain A.D. 414.

nia, olim multis annis a Romanis possessa, tempore Honorii imperatoris in jus Gothorum concesserat: Gothi, usque ad tempora beati Gregorii [1]Arriani, tunc per [2]Leandrum episcopum Hispalis, et per [3]Ricaredum regem fratrem [4]Herminigildi, quem pater nocte Paschali pro fidei confessione interfecerat, catholico choro uniti sunt. Successit Leandro [5]Isidorus, doctrina et sanctitate nobilis; cujus corpus nostra ætate Aldefonsus rex Galliciæ Toletum transtulit, ad pondus auro comparatum. Saraceni enim, qui Gothos subjugarant, ipsi quoque a Karolo magno victi, Galliciam et Lusitaniam, maximas Hispaniæ provincias, amiserunt. Possident usque hodie superiores regiones. Et sicut Christiani Toletum, ita ipsi Hispalim, quam Sibiliam vulgariter vocant, caput regni habent, divinationibus et incantationibus more gentis familiari studentes. Ad hos igitur (ut dixi) Gerbertus perveniens, desiderio satisfecit. Ibi vicit scientia Ptholo-

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[1] *Arriani.*] *C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *A. S.*

[2] *Leandrum episcopum Hispalis.*] Leander, archbishop of Seville.

[3] *Ricaredum.*] *A. D. E. L.*; Recharedum, *C.*; Richardum, *S.* —Recared II, son of Leovigild, was the first Catholic king of Spain. He was converted to that faith between the years 586 and 589, and with him the whole of the Visigoths of Spain abjured the profession of Arianism.

[4] *Herminigildi, quem pater nocte Paschali pro fidei confessione interfecerat.*] Hermenegild, the eldest son of Leovigild. He was invested by his father with the royal diadem and the principality of Bœtica, and contracted an alliance with Ingundis, daughter of Sigebert king of Austrasia. Ingundis was persecuted, and at length killed, by her husband's mother, on account of her Catholic faith. Leander, archbishop of Seville, easily persuaded Hermenegild to resent the treatment of his bride, and assisted him in an attempt to dethrone his father. Hermenegild was taken, and sentenced to death for his rebellion. The inflexible constancy with which he refused to accept the Arian communion, from which he had been converted by Leander, as the price of his safety, procured for him the honour of being enrolled among the saints of the Romish church.

[5] *Isidorus.*] Isidore, archbishop of Seville during the sixth century.

mæum in astrolabio, [1]Alandræum in astrorum interstitio, [2]Julium Firmicum in fato. Ibi quid cantus et volatus avium portendat, didicit; ibi excire tenues ex inferno figuras; ibi postremo quicquid vel noxium vel salubre curiositas humana deprehendit: nam de licitis artibus, arithmetica, musica, et astronomia, et geometria, nihil attinet dicere; quas ita ebibit ut inferiores ingenio suo ostenderet, et magna industria revocaret in Galliam omnino ibi jam pridem obsoletas. [3]Abacum certe primus a Saracenis rapiens, regulas dedit quæ a sudantibus abacistis vix intelliguntur. Hospitabatur apud quendam sectæ illius philosophum, quem multis primo expensis, post etiam promissis, demerebatur. Nec deerat Saracenus quin scientiam venditaret; assidere frequenter, nunc de seriis, nunc de nugis colloqui, libros ad scribendum præbere. Unus erat codex, totius artis conscius, quem nullo modo elicere poterat. Ardebat contra Gerbertus librum quoquo modo ancillari. [4]Semper enim in vetitum nitimur, et quicquid negatur pretiosius putatur. Ad preces [5]ergo conversus orare per

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[1] *Alandræum.*] *D. E.*; Alhandræum, *A. E* 2. *L.*; Alchandræum, *C.*; Alcandræum, *S.*

[2] *Julium Firmicum.*] Julius Firmicus Maternus, bishop of Milan about the middle of the fourth century. He wrote eight books on astronomy.

[3] *Abacum.*] Mr. Sharpe observes that the abacus was a counting-table: here it seems used metaphorically for arithmetic, Gerbert having written a treatise on arithmetic with that title. The authors of the Hist. Litt. de la France, t. VI. understand him literally as stealing a book containing the principles of the science, and then confound this supposed book with the conjuring treatise mentioned below. They also seem very much displeased with Malmesbury for relating these tales of their countryman, and attribute them to Cardinal Benno; but there is nothing of this kind in his work published by Goldastus, and in Brown's Fasciculus, t. I.

[4] *Semper . . . putatur.*] Ovid. Amor. III. 4, 17.

[5] *Ergo.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E.*

Deum, per amicitiam, multa offerre, plura polliceri. Ubi id parum procedit, nocturnas insidias tentat. Ita hominem (connivente etiam filia, cum qua assiduitas familiaritatem paraverat,) vino invadens, volumen sub cervicali positum arripuit, et fugit. Ille somno excussus, indicio stellarum, qua peritus erat arte, insequitur fugitantem. Profugus quoque respiciens, eademque scientia periculum comperiens, sub ponte ligneo, qui proximus, se occulit; pendulus et pontem amplectens, ut nec aquam nec terram tangeret. Ita quærentis aviditas frustrata, domum revertit. Tum Gerbertus, viam celerans, devenit ad mare. Ibi per incantationes diabolo accersito, perpetuum paciscitur hominium si se, ab illo qui denuo insequebatur defensatum, ultra pelagus eveheret. Et factum est. Sed hæc vulgariter ficta crediderit aliquis, quod soleat populus literatorum famam lædere, dicens illum loqui cum dæmone quem in aliquo viderint excellentem opere. Unde Boœtius, in libro de Consolatione Philosophiæ, queritur se propter studium sapientiæ de talibus notatum, quasi conscientiam suam sacrilegio polluisset ob ambitum dignitatis. 'Non conveniebat,' [1] inquit, 'vilissimorum me spirituum præsidia captare, quem tu in hanc excellentiam componebas ut consimilem Deo faceres. Atqui hoc ipso videmur affines maleficio, quod tuis imbuti disciplinis, tuis instituti moribus sumus.' Hæc Boœtius. [2] Mihi vero fidem facit de istius sacri-

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[1] *Inquit.*] Boethius de Cons. Philos. lib. I. p. 14. (Glasguæ, 8vo. 1751.)

[2] *Mihi vero fidem facit.*] Attention has been called to this passage by a note in the Rec. des Hist. de la France (tom. x.) harshly censuring Malmesbury's want of judgment. The partiality, however, for Pope Silvester, (he having been the first Frenchman who attained the dignity of chief pontiff,) which the editor of that volume acknowledges, may in some measure explain and perhaps excuse the severity of the comment;

legio inaudita mortis excogitatio. Cur enim se moriens, ut [1]postea dicemus, excarnificaret ipse sui corporis horrendus lanista, nisi novi sceleris conscius esset? Unde in vetusto volumine quod in manus meas incidit, ubi omnium apostolicorum nomina continebantur et anni, ita scriptum vidi: '[2]Silvester, qui et Gerbertus, annos quatuor, mensem unum, dies decem: hic turpiter vitam suam finivit.'

DE DISCIPULIS GERBERTI.

§ 168. Gerbertus Galliam repatrians, publicasque scholas professus, artem magisterii attigit. Habebat conphilosophos, et studiorum socios, Constantinum abbatem monasterii sancti Maximini, quod est juxta Aurelianis, ad quem edidit [3]regulas de abaco: Adelboldum episcopum, ut dicunt, Winteburgensem, qui et ipse ingenii monimenta dedit in epistola quam facit ad Gerbertum [4]de quæstione diametri super Macrobium, et in nonnullis aliis. Habuit discipulos prædicandæ indolis et prosapiæ nobilis, Robertum filium Hugonis cognomento Capet, Otonem filium imperatoris Otonis. Robertus, postea rex Franciæ, magistro vicem reddidit, et archiepisco-

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although a disbelief in the reports of magic attributed to Gerbert as the means by which he acquired the papal chair might have been expressed with more courtesy to the author, who may be presumed to have acted from a motive similar to that assigned by the learned editor as his apology for reprinting them: 'Hos fabulosos, et, ut ita dicamus, diabolicos de Gerberto rumores hic describimus, non ut pondus iis aliquod addamus, sed ut a lectore nihil, sive verum sive falsum, desideretur de tanto viro, qui e Gallis primus summi pontificatus apicem obtinuit.'

[1] *Postea dicemus.*] § 172, p. 284.

[2] *Silvester, qui et Gerbertus, annos quatuor, mensem unum, dies decem.*] *A. D. M.*; Johannes, qui et Gerbertus, menses decem, *S. C. E. F. G. K. L.* See note [2], p. 271.

[3] *Regulas de abaco.*] See note [3], p. 273.

[4] *De quæstione diametri super Macrobium.*] Macrob. in Somn. Scip. I. 20.

pum Remensem fecit. [1]Extant apud illam ecclesiam doctrinæ ipsius documenta: [2]horologium arte mechanica compositum; organa hydraulica, ubi mirum in modum, per aquæ calefactæ violentiam, ventus emergens implet concavitatem barbiti, et per multiforatiles tractus æreæ fistulæ modulatos [3]clamores emittunt. Et erat ipse rex in ecclesiasticis cantibus non mediocriter doctus; et tum in hoc, tum in cæteris, multum ecclesiæ profuit. Denique pulcherrimam sequentiam, 'Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia,' et responsorium, 'O Juda et Jerusalem,' contexuit, et alia plura, quæ non me pigeret dicere si non alios pigeret audire. Otho, post patrem imperator Italiæ, Gerbertum archiepiscopum Ravennatem, et mox papam Romanum, creavit. Urgebat ipse fortunas suas, [4]fautore diabolo, ut nihil quod semel excogitasset imperfectum relinqueret. Denique thesauros olim a gentilibus defossos, arte nigromantiæ molibus eruderatis inventos, cupiditatibus suis implicuit. Adeo improborum vilis in Deum affectus, et ejus abutuntur pati-

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[1] *Extant.*] *C. D. E.*; extant enim, *A. S. L.*—The editor of tom. x. of the Rec. des Hist. de la France assents to the truth of this statement.

[2] *Horologium.*] Gerbert is by some supposed to have been the inventor of clocks; but his claim to the honour of that invention has been denied by Ditmar of Merseburg, who states that the horologium which Gerbert placed in the cathedral was only a species of sun-dial.

[3] *Clamores emittunt.*] This seems to be an organ acting by the application of steam. It was perhaps a modification of the revolving æolipile, an instrument mentioned by Vitruvius. The æolipile usually consists of a spherical ball of metal, with a pipe or small bore, through which a jet of steam may be impelled. The ball is then filled with water, and heat applied to its external surface: as soon as the water boils, the steam is impelled from the mouth of the tube with great violence, and the apparatus thus constructed forms a very good substitute for the ordinary bellows.

[4] *Fautore diabolo.*] Mabillon imagined that this fable originated with Cardinal Benno, and was inconsiderately adopted by subsequent writers.

entia, quos ipse mallet redire quam perire. Sed reperit tandem ubi magister suus hæreret, et, ut dici solet, quasi cornix cornici oculos effoderet, dum pari arte tentamentis ejus occurreret.

QUOMODO GERBERTUS THESAUROS OCTOVIANI INVENIT.

§ 169. Erat juxta Romam in campo Martio statua, ærea an ferrea incertum mihi, dextræ manus indicem digitum extentum habens, scriptum quoque in capite, 'Hic percute.' Quod superioris ævi homines ita intelligendum rati quasi ibi thesaurum invenirent, multis securium ictibus innocentem statuam laniaverant. Sed illorum Gerbertus redarguit errorem, longe aliter ambiguitate [1]absoluta: namque meridie, sole in centro existente, notans quo protenderetur umbra digiti, ibi palum figit; mox superveniente nocte, solo cubiculario laternam portante comitatus, eo contendit. Ibi, terra solitis artibus dehiscens, latum ingredientibus patefecit introitum: conspicantur ingentem regiam, aureos parietes, aurea lacunaria, aurea omnia; milites aureos aureis tesseris quasi animum oblectantes; regem metallicum cum regina discumbentem, apposita obsonia, astantes ministros, pateras multi ponderis et pretii, ubi naturam vincebat opus. In interiori parte domus carbunculus, lapis inprimis nobilis et parvus [2]intuitu, tenebras noctis fugabat. In contrario angulo stabat puer, arcum tenens extento nervo et arundine intenta. Ita in omnibus, cum oculos spectantium ars pretiosa raptaret, nihil erat quod posset tangi etsi posset videri; continuo enim ut quis manum ad con-

[1] *Absoluta.*] *C. D. E. L.*; dissoluta, *S.*; obsoluta, *A.*

[2] *Intuitu.*] *S.*; inventu, *A. C. D. E. L.*

tingendum aptaret, videbantur omnes illæ imagines prosilire, et impetum in præsumptorem facere. Quo timore pressus Gerbertus, ambitum suum fregit: sed non abstinuit cubicularius quin mirabilis artificii cultellum, quem mensæ impositum [1]videret, abriperet; arbitratus scilicet, in tanta præda, parvum latrocinium posse latere. Verum mox omnibus imaginibus cum fremitu exsurgentibus, puer quoque, emissa arundine in carbunculum, tenebras induxit; et, nisi ille monitu domini cultellum rejicere accelerasset, graves ambo pœnas dedissent. Sic insatiata cupiditatis voragine, laterna gressus ducente, discessum. Talia illum adversis præstigiis machinatum fuisse, constans vulgi opinio [2]est. Veruntamen, si quis verum diligenter exsculpat, videbit nec Salomonem, cui Deus ipse dederit sapientiam, hujusce inscium commenti fuisse, ut enim [3]Josephus auctor est: thesauros multos cum patre defodit in loculis, qui erant (inquit) mechanico modo reconditi sub terra. Nec Hircanum, prophetia et fortitudine clarum, qui, ut obsidionis levaret injuriam, de David sepulchro tria millia talenta auri arte mechanica eruit, ut obsessori partem enumeraret, parte xenodochia construeret. At vero Herodes, qui magis præsumptione quam consilio idem aggredi voluerit, multos ex satellitibus, igne ex interiori parte prodeunte, amiserit. Præterea cum audio [4]Dominum Jesum dicentem, 'Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor,' credo quod qui dederit Salomoni virtutem super dæmones, ut idem historiographus testatur, adeo ut dicat etiam suo tempore fuisse viros qui illos

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[1] *Videret.*] *E.L.*; viderat, *A.S. C. D.*

[2] *Est.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; ait, *A.*

[3] *Josephus auctor est.*] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. VII. c. 15, lib. VIII. c. 2.

[4] *Dominum.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; Dominum meum, *L.*

ab obsessis corporibus expellerent, apposito naribus patientis annulo habente sigillum a Salomone monstratum, credo, inquam, quod et isti hanc scientiam dare potuerit, nec tamen affirmo quod dederit.

QUOMODO QUIDAM THESAUROS OCTOVIANI QUÆSIERUNT.

§ 170. Sed hæc lecturis relinquens, dicam quod a quodam loci nostri monacho, genere Aquitanico, ætate provecto, arte medico, in pueritia audisse me memini. 'Ego,' aiebat, 'septennis, despecta exilitate patris mei, municipis Barcinonensis admodum tenuis, transcendens nives Alpinas, in Italiam veni. Ibi, ut id ætatis pusio, summa inopia victum quæritans, ingenium potius quam ventrem colui. [1]Adultus multa illius terræ miracula oculis [2]hausi, et memoriæ mandavi: inter quæ vidi montem perforatum, ultra quem accolæ ab antiquo æstimabant thesauros Octoviani reconditos. Ferebantur etiam multi causa scrutandi ingressi per anfractus, et semetra viarum intercepti perisse. Sed, quia nullus fere timor avidas mentes ab incœpto revocat, ego cum sodalibus meis, viris circiter duodecim, seu prædandi seu videndi studio, illud iter meditabar aggredi. Itaque Dædali secuti ingenium, qui Theseum de labyrintho filo eduxit prævio, nos quoque glomus ingens portantes paxillum in introitu fiximus: ibi principio fili ligato, accensis laternis ne præter devia etiam cæcitate impediremur, devoluto glomere, et per unumquodque milliarium paxillo apposito, sub caverna montis quomodocunque iter nostrum direximus. Cæca erant omnia, et A legend.

[1] *Adultus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; adultus autem, *S.*

[2] *Hausi.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; libavi, *A.*

magni horroris plena; vespertiliones, de concavis egredientes, oculos et ora infestabant; semita arcta, et a læva præcipitio et subterlabente fluvio timenda. Vidimus tramitem vestitum nudis ossibus: flevimus cadavera tabo adhuc fluentia hominum, quos eadem quæ nos spes raptasset, post montis introitum non valentium invenire exitum. Sed tandem aliquando, post multos timores, ad egressum ulteriorem pervenientes, vidimus stagnum placidum aquis crispantibus, ubi [1] dulcibus illisa lapsibus alludebat unda littoribus; pons æreus utramque ripam continuabat: ultra pontem visebantur miræ magnitudinis equi aurei, cum assessoribus æque aureis, et cætera quæ de Gerberto dicta sunt; in quibus die medio Phœbi jubar infusum, duplicato fulgore oculos intuentium hebetabat. Nos qui [2] hæc eminus videntes propiori aspectu delectaremur, asportaturi, si fors sineret, aliquam splendidi metalli crustam. Hortamine alterno animati stagnum transire paramus; sed nequicquam. Dum enim quidam, cæteris præruptior, citeriori margini pontis pedem imponeret, continuo (quod mirum auditu sit) illo depresso, ulterior elevatus est, producens rusticum æreum cum æreo malleo, quo ille undas verberans, ita obnubilavit aera ut diem cœlumque [3] subtexeret. Retracto pede, pax fuit: tentatum idem a pluribus, idemque expertum. Itaque, desperato transitu, aliquantulum ibi constitimus; et, quamdiu potuimus, solo saltem visu libavimus aurum. Mox, per vestigia fili regressi, pateram argenteam reperimus; qua in frusta desecta, et minutatim partita, pruritum aviditatis

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[1] *Dulcibus illisa lapsibus.*] *C. D. E. L.*; dulcibus illis allapsibus, *S. A.*

[2] *Hæc.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E.*

[3] *Subtexeret.*] *C. D. E.*; subtexerit, *A. E* 2.; subtexerat, *S.*

nostræ tantummodo irritantes, non etiam fami fecimus satis. Postero die, collato consilio, magistrum quendam illius temporis [1]adivimus, qui dicebatur nomen Domini ineffabile scire: interrogatus scientiam non inficiatur, adjiciens quod tanta esset ejus nominis virtus, ut nulla ei magia, nulla mathesis, obsistere posset. Ita multo pretio redemptus, jejunus et [2]confessus, nos eodem modo paratos duxit ad fontem. De quo hausta aqua in fiala argentea, tacens digitis literas figurabat, donec oculis intelleximus quod ore effari nequiremus. Tunc fiducialiter ad montem accessimus; sed exitum ulteriorem a dæmonibus credo obstipatum offendimus, invidentibus scilicet nomini Domini, quod eorum commenta refelleret. Venit mane ad me nigromanticus Judæus, quem audita gestorum fama exciverat; percunctatusque rem, ubi socordiam nostram accepit, multo cachinno bilem succutiens, "Quin tu," inquit, "videas, licebit, quantum potentia meæ artis valeat." Et incunctanter montem introiens, non multo post egressus est, multa quæ ultra fluvium notaveram ad indicium transitus sui afferens, pulverem sane locupletissimum, quo quicquid contingeretur in aurum flavescebat; non quod ita pro vero esset, sed quia ita videretur quoad aqua dilueretur: nihil enim quod per nigromantiam fit potest in aqua aspectum intuentium fallere. Confirmat veritatem sermonis mei, res quæ tempore eodem acciderat.'

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[1] *Adivimus.*] *C. E. L.*; audivimus, *A. S. D.*

[2] *Confessus.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; confusus, *L.*

DE ANICULIS QUÆ JUVENEM ASINUM VIDERI FECERUNT.

Another legend.

§ 171. ' Erant in strata publica, qua Romam itur, duæ aniculæ, quibus nihil [1]bibacius, nihil [2]impudicius, uno commorantes tugurio, uno imbutæ maleficio. Hæ hospitem, si quando solus superveniebat, vel equum, vel suem, vel quodlibet aliud videri faciebant; et mercatoribus venum proponebant, nummos inde acceptos [3]ingurgitantes. Et forte quadam nocte quendam ephœbum, qui motibus histrionicis victum exigeret, excipientes hospitio, asinum videri fecerunt; magnum suis commodis emolumentum habentes asinum qui transeuntium detineret oculos miraculo gestuum, quocunque enim modo præcepisset anus, movebatur asinus. Nec [4]enim amiserat intelligentiam, [5]etsi amiserat loquelam. Multum itaque quæstum conflaverant vetulæ, undique confluente multitudine vulgi ad spectandos ludos asini. Rumor vicinum divitem advocavit ut quadrupedem non pauculis nummis in usus suos transferret; admonitus ut, si perpetuum vellet habere histrionem, arceret eum [6]aqua. Custos ergo appositus mandatum severe exequebatur. Præteriit plurimum tempus: asinus, quando temulentia dominum in gaudium excitasset, convivas jocis suis lætificabat. Sed, sicut rerum omnium fastidium est, dissolutius post hæc haberi cœpit; quapropter [7]incautiorem nactus custodiam,

[1] *Bibacius.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; libatius, *A.*

[2] *Impudicius.*] *D.*; pudicitius, *E.*; pudicius, *C* 1.; impudicitius, *C* 2.; putidius, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Ingurgitantes.*] *C. D. E.*; abligurientes, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Enim.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[5] *Etsi.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; etiamsi, *D.*

[6] *Aqua.*] Glossed in *L.* ' ab scilicet.'

[7] *Incautiorem.*] Glossed in *L.* '*i. e.* minus cautam.'

abrupto loro effugiens, in proximum lacum se projecit, et, diutius in aqua volutatus, figuram sibi humanam restituit. Custos ab obviis sciscitatus, illumque vestigiis insecutus, interrogat an vidisset asinum: refert ille se asinum fuisse, modo hominem, omnemque casum exponit. Miratus famulus ad dominum detulit; dominus ad apostolicum Leonem, dico nostro seculo sanctissimum; convictæ anus idem fatentur. Dubitantem papam confirmat Petrus Damianus, literaturæ peritus, non mirum si hæc fieri possint; productoque exemplo de [1]Simone Mago, qui Faustinianum in Simonis figura videri, et a filiis horreri fecit, instructiorem de cætero in talibus reddidit.'

DE CAPITE STATUÆ LOQUENTIS.

§ 172. Hæc Aquitannici verba ideo inserui, ne cui mirum videatur quod de Gerberto fama dispersit; fudisse sibi statuæ caput, certa inspectione syderum, cum videlicet omnes planetæ exordia cursus sui meditarentur, quod non nisi interrogatum loqueretur, sed verum vel affirmative vel negative pronunciaret. Verbi gratia, [2]diceret Gerbertus, 'Ero apostolicus?' responderet statua, 'Etiam.' 'Moriar antequam cantem missam in Jerusalem?' 'Non.' Quo illum ambiguo deceptum ferunt, ut nihil excogitaret pœnitentiæ qui animo blandiretur suo de longo tempore vitæ; quando enim Ierosolymam ire deliberaret ut mortem stimularet? Nec providit

Gerbert's speaking statue.

[1] *Simone Mago.*] In the fabulous itinerary of St. Peter, falsely attributed to Clemens Romanus, Simon is represented as causing Faustinianus to assume his countenance, by rubbing his face with a medicated unguent, to the great alarm of his sons, who mistook him for Simon, and fled, until recalled by St. Peter. (Sharpe, 208.)

[2] *Diceret.*] *C. E. L.*; cum diceret, *A. S. D.*

quod est Romæ ecclesia Jerusalem dicta, id est, Visio pacis; quia quicunque illuc confugerit, cujuscunque criminis obnoxius, subsidium invenit. Hanc in ipsius urbis rudimentis Asylum accepimus dictam, quod ibi Romulus, ut augeret civium numerum, statuisset omnium reorum refugium. Ibi cantat missam papa tribus Dominicis quibus prætitulatur Statio [1]ad Jerusalem. Quocirca, cum uno [2]illorum dierum Gerbertus ad missam se pararet, invaletudinis ictus ingemuit, eademque crescente decubuit; consulta statua, deceptionem et mortem suam cognovit. Advocatis igitur cardinalibus, diu facinora sua deploravit: quibus inopinato stupore [3]percussis, nec aliquid referre valentibus, ille insaniens, et præ dolore ratione hebetata, minutatim se dilaniari et membratim foras projici jussit; 'Habeat,' inquiens, 'membrorum officium qui eorum quæsivit hominium; namque animus meus nunquam illud adamavit [4]sacramentum, imo sacrilegium.'

§ 173. Et quia diverticulum feci, puto non inhonestum si dicam quod in Saxonia tempore regis istius accidit, et non adeo notum, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo duodecimo. Melius est interim spatiari in talibus, quam immorari in ejus rebus, et ignavis et tristibus. Quod profecto erit jocundius si ab antiquitate scriptum illius, qui passus est, apposuero; simul et propius vero videbitur quam si meis texuissem literis. Præterea non indecens [5]æstimo si multicolori stylo varietur oratio.

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[1] *Ad.*] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

[2] *Illorum.*] *C. D. E.*; eorum, *A. S. L.*.

[3] *Percussis.*] *S. E.*; perculsis, *A. C. D. L.*

[4] *Sacramentum.*] Glossed in *L.* 'præstitum scilicet diabolo.'

[5] *Æstimo.*] *C. D. E. L. M.*; opinor, *A. S.*

DE VIRIS ET FŒMINIS CHOREAS DUCENTIBUS.

§ 174. 'Ego [1] Otbertus peccator, et, si vellem celare quod in me factum est divinum judicium, membrorum meorum tremor proderet; quod quemadmodum factum sit referam, ut omnibus innotescat quanta sit pœna inobedientiæ. Eramus, ad vigilias Natalis Domini, in villa quadam Saxoniæ ubi erat ecclesia Magni martyris: presbyter nomine Rotbertus missam primam inchoaverat. Ego in cœmiterio cum sodalibus octodecim, viris quindecim, fœminis tribus, choreas ducens, et cantilenas seculares perstrepens, ita sacerdotem impediebam ut ipsa verba nostra intra sacrosancta missarum solemnia resonarent. Quocirca, mandato nobis ut taceremus et neglecto, imprecatus est, dicens, "Placeat Deo et sancto Magno ut ita cantantes permaneatis usque ad annum!" Verba pondus habuerunt. Filius presbyteri Johannis sororem suam nobiscum cantantem per brachium arripuit, statimque illud a corpore avulsit, sed gutta sanguinis non exiit. Ipsa quoque toto anno nobiscum permansit choros ducens, et cantans: pluvia non cecidit super nos; frigus, [2] non calor, nec fames, nec sitis, nec lassitudo nos affecit; indumenta nec calceamenta nostra attrivimus; sed quasi vecordes cantitabamus. Primum ad genua, mox ad femora, terræ dimersi sumus. Fabrica tecti aliquando nutu Dei super nos erigebatur, ut pluvias arceret. Tandem, evoluto anno, Herbertus, civitatis Coloniensis episcopus, a nodo quo manus nostræ ligabantur nos absolvit, et ante altare sancti Magni reconciliavit. Filia presbyteri cum

A legend.

[1] *Otbertus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Ethelbertus, *S.*

[2] *Non.*] *C. D. E.*; nec, *A. S. L.*

aliis duobus continuo efflavit, cæteri continuis tribus diebus et noctibus dormivimus; aliqui postea obierunt et miraculis coruscant, cæteri pœnam suam tremore membrorum produnt.' Datæ sunt nobis hæ literæ a domino Peregrino, [1]beati Herberti successore, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo tertio decimo.

DE EPISCOPO TURPISSIMO ET RELIGIOSO, ET MONACHA INCESTA.

A legend. § 175. In hac urbe (quæ, olim Agrippina ab Agrippa genero Augusti dicta, postea a Trajano imperatore Colonia denominata est, [2]quod, in imperium allectus, colonias civium Romanorum eo deduxerit,)—in hac, inquam, civitate fuit episcopus quidam, præclarus religione quamvis turpis corpore, cujus unum miraculum, quod moriens prædixit, referam; si prius dixero, quam insolitus casus eum in tanto culmine fastigaverit. Imperator terræ illius, Dominica illa quæ vocatur Quinquagesima, venatum pergens, solus ad oram sylvæ devenit, omnibus comitibus dispersis, juxta quam habebat ecclesiam ille presbyter agrestis, deformis sane, et pene portentum naturæ. Imperator, militem se mentitus, suppliciter missam rogat; ille confestim parat: alter interea volvebat animo quare Deus, a quo formosa cuncta procedunt, tam deformem hominem sacramenta sua conficere sineret. Mox cum ad versum tractus ventum esset, 'Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus,' sacerdos, socordiam pueri familiaris increpitans, respexit, et concitatiori voce, quasi cogitanti imperatori responderet, dixit, 'Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos.' Quo dicto

[1] *Beati.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[2] *Quod.*] *E.*; quod ibi, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[1]repercussus imperator, propheticum virum æstimans, invitum et renitentem sublimavit in [2]archiepiscopium: quod tamen semel susceptum dignis moribus honestavit; bene agentes blande appellare, improbos excommunicationis stigmate inurere, sine [3]personarum acceptione. Multa illius acta constanter accolæ prædicant, quorum unum pro suscepti operis brevitate lector percurret. In monasterio sanctimonialium urbis illius erat virgo quædam, quæ illic magis parentum officio, quam bonæ vitæ studio, adoleverat: hæc et speciei lenocinio, et dulci ad omnes [4]colloquio, amatores invitabat; sed cum cæteri vel timore Dei, vel pro infamia seculi, cupiditates suas cohiberent, unus, quem opum congeries et alta progenies in proterviam accenderant, abrupit quod legis, quod justitiæ, puellæ [5]virginal expugnare ausus, abductamque domum loco justæ conjugis habuit. Transiit multum tempus in abbatissæ precibus, in propinquorum admonitionibus, ne tam fœdo facinori assuesceret: ille, surdis auribus admonentes transiens, velut pelagi rupes immota resistit. Ac tum forte antistes aberat, curiæ curis implicitus; regresso res nunciatur: mandat ille continuo ut ovis ovili restituatur; ita, multis verbis ultro citroque habitis, mulier monasterio redditur; sed non multo post, abscessu pontificis aucupato, abripitur. Tunc in delinquentem excommunicatio promulgatur, ita ut nullus civium cum eo colloqui, nullus convivari auderet: quam ille injuriam parvi pensans,

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[1] *Repercussus.*] *E.*; repercul-sus, *A. C. D. L.*; percussus, *S.*

[2] *Archiepiscopium.*] *L.*; archiepiscopum, *A. E.*; archiepiscopatum, *D.*; episcopum, *C.*; archiepiscopum Coloniæ, *S.*

[3] *Personarum.*] *S. C. D. E.*; personæ, *A. L.*

[4] *Colloquio.*] *S. C. D. E.*; alloquio, *A. L.*

[5] *Virginal.*] *E. L.*; virginalem aulam, *D.*; virginale, *S.*

in prædia juris sui longe abiit, non ut præceptum foveret, sed ut arbitrium fugeret; ibi cum excommunicata sua vitam transigens, homo factiosus et potens. Sed cum Deus episcopum ad superos evocaret, et gravi dolore membra depastus in lecto decumberet, convenerunt undique compatriotæ ut extremæ benedictioni beati viri communicarent; solus ille venire non præsumens, subornavit aliquos qui pro se loquerentur. Ejus nomen auditum primo pontifex gemitu excepit, inde subjecit verba; verba ipsa dicturus sum. 'Si miser ille maledictam [1] mulierem deseruerit, sit absolutus; si perstiterit, posteriori anno hac eadem die et hora qua ego decedam, sit ante Deum reddere rationem paratus: videbitis autem me quando signum ad sextam insonuerit efflare.' Nec fides verbis defuit, nam et iste hora qua prædixerat defunctus; et ille, anno evoluto, eadem die et hora cum amica fulmine ictus exanimatus est.

QUOMODO SWANUS INVITATUR UT ANGLIAM VENIAT.

Sweyn invited to England, A.D. 1013.

§ 176. At vero [2] rex Ethelredus, martyrizato, [3] ut prædiximus, sancto Elfego, dedit episcopatum cuidam [4] episcopo Livingo. Resederat autem in Anglia Turkillus Danus, qui fuerat incentor ut lapidaretur archiepiscopus; habebatque Orientales Anglos suæ voluntati parentes. Nam cæteri, dato ab Anglis octo millium librarum tributo, per urbes et agros, quo quisque commodius

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[1] *Mulierem.*] *A. D. E. L.*; mulierem illam, *C. S.*

[2] *Rex.*] *A. S. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

[3] *Ut prædiximus.*] See § 165, p. 265.

[4] *Episcopo Livingo.*] Lyfing, formerly called Aethelstan, was translated from Wells to Canterbury in the year 1013: he died 12th June 1020.

poterat, dilapsi; quindecim eorum naves, cum hominibus, regis fidem secutæ. Turkillus interea regem patriæ suæ Suanum nunciis accersit ut Angliam veniat; præclaram esse patriam et opimam, sed regem stertere: illum, Veneri vinoque studentem, nihil minus quam bellum cogitare; quapropter odiosum suis, ridiculum alienis: duces invidos; provinciales infirmos, primo stridore lituorum prælio cessuros.

§ 177. Erat [1] Suanus in sanguinem pronus, nec ei magno hortamento opus fuit: navibus itaque paratis, transitum maturavit; Sandwic vocatur portus ubi appulit, ultionem præcipue Gunhildis sororis intendens animo. Hæc, non illepidæ formæ virago, Angliam cum Pallingo marito potenti comite venerat; et, accepta Christianitate, obsidem se Danicæ pacis fecerat. Eam cum cæteris Danis infaustus furor Edrici decapitari jusserat, pronunciantem quod sui sanguinis effusio magno toti Angliæ foret dispendio. Et illa quidem mortem præsenti tulit animo, quia nec moritura expalluit, nec mortua, consumpto etiam sanguine, vultum amisit; occiso prius ante ora marito, et filio, commodæ indolis puero, quatuor lanceis forato. Tunc ergo Suanus, per Orientales Anglos profectus in Northanhimbros, ditioni eos suæ sine pugna subdidit; non quod in illorum mentibus genuinus ille calor, et dominorum impatiens, refriguerit, sed quod princeps eorum

Northumbrians submit to him, A.D. 1013.

[1] *Suanus.*] The massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's day, A.D. 1002, and the murder of Gunilhda, the sister of Sweyn, was long remembered by the Danes as an incentive to their hatred of the Saxon name. The attack made on England by the Danish king in the following year would scarcely be considered ample revenge for so great an injury, and Sweyn continued to infest the English coast from that time until his death. The landing at Sandwich was effected in July 1013.

[1] Uhtredus primus exemplum defectionis dederit. Illis sub jugum missis, cæteri quoque omnes populi qui Angliam ab aquilone inhabitant vectigal et obsides dederunt. Mox ad australes regiones veniens, Oxenefordenses et Wintonienses leges suas adorare coegit; soli [2] Londonienses, regem legitimum intra mœnia tutantes, portas occluserunt. Dani contra ferocius assistentes, spe gloriæ virtutem alebant: oppidani in mortem pro libertate ruebant, nullam sibi veniam futuram arbitrantes si regem desererent, quibus ipse vitam suam commiserat. Ita cum utrinque acriter certaretur, justior causa victoriam habuit; civibus magna ope conantibus, dum unusquisque sudores suos principi ostentare, et pro eo pulchrum putaret emori. Hostium pars prostrata, pars in flumine Tamensi necata, quod præcipiti furore pontem non exspectavissent. Lacero agmine petit Suanus Bathoniam; ibi Ethelmerus, occidentalis regionis comes, cum suis omnibus manus ei dedit. Nec adhuc flecterentur Londonienses, tota jam Anglia in clientelam illius inclinata, nisi Ethelredus præsentia eos destitueret sua; quippe homo inertiæ deditus, et formidine meritorum nullum sibi fidelem [3] metiens, bellique et obsidionis necessitatem subterfugiens, illos fuga sua reliquit in medio: quocirca, rebus extremis medentes, compatriotarum exemplo se dedidere. Laudandi prorsus viri, et quos Mars ipse collata non sperneret hasta si ducem habuissent; cujus dum vel sola umbra protegerentur, totius pugnæ aleam, ipsam etiam obsidio-

Repulsed from London, A.D. 1013.

Retreat of Aethelred to the isle of Wight, A.D. 1013.

[1] *Uhtredus primus exemplum defectionis dederit.*] Uhtred and the Northumbrians submitted to Sweyn in 1013.

[2] *Londonienses . . . occluserunt.*] Sweyn was repulsed from London by Aethelred and Turcytell in 1013.

[3] *Metiens.*] *C. D. E. L.*; metuens, *A.*

nem, non paucis mensibus luserant. Ille interea, naturalis desidiæ conscientiam excitans, ab urbe profugit; cumque clandestinis itineribus Hamtunam venisset, inde Wehtam enavigavit. Ibi abbates et episcopos, qui nec in tali necessitate dominum suum deserendum putarent, in hanc convenit sententiam. Viderent quam in angusto res essent suæ et suorum; se perfidia ducum avito extorrem solio, et opis egentem alienæ, in cujus manu aliorum solebat salus pendere; quondam monarcham et potentem, modo miserum et exulem. Dolendam sibi hanc commutationem, quia facilius toleres opes non habuisse, quam habitas amisisse; pudendam Anglis eo magis, quod deserti ducis exemplum processurum sit in orbem terrarum. Illos amore sui sine sumptibus voluntariam subeuntes fugam, domos et facultates suas prædonibus exposuisse, in arcto esse victum omnibus, vestitum deesse pluribus: probare se quidem fidem illorum, sed non reperire salutem; adeo jam subjugata terra, observari littora ut nusquam sine periculo sit exitus. Quapropter consulerent in medium quid censerent faciendum. Si maneant, cavendum plus a civibus quam ab hostibus. Forsan enim crucibus suis novi domini gratiam mercarentur; et certe occidi ab hoste [1]titulatur fortunæ, prodi a cive addicitur ignaviæ. Si ad exteras gentes fugiant, gloriæ fore dispendium; si ad notas, metuendum ne cum fortuna [2]colorent animum. Plerosque enim probos et illustres viros hac occasione cæsos: experiendam tamen sortem, et tentandum pectus Ricardi Normannorum ducis; qui si sororem et nepotes non ingrato animo sus-

[1] *Titulatur.*] *C. D. E.*; titulantur, *A. S.*

[2] *Colorent.*] *E. L.*; colerent, *A. S. D.*; tollerent, *C.*

ceperit, se quoque non aspernanter protecturum. 'Vadabitur enim,' inquit, 'mihi meam salutem conjugi et liberis impensus favor. Quod si ille adversum pedem contulerit, non deerit mihi animus, plane non deerit, quin malim hic gloriose occumbere quam illic ignominiose vivere. Quocirca hoc interim mense Augusto, dum clementior aura componit pelagus, Emma ad fratrem naviget, communia pignora apud eum depositura; sint comites eorum [1]episcopus de Dunelmo et abbas de Burgo. Ego hic usque ad Natale Domini manebo; si bona nunciaverint, subsequuturus continuo.'

Queen Emma and her two sons sent into Normandy.

§ 178. Soluto conventu paretur ab omnibus: navigant illi Normanniam, ipse serenæ famæ avidus interim residet. Mox a transmarinis nunciatum partibus, Ricardum suscepisse sororem magna alacritate; regem quoque invitare, ut suos dignetur lares. Ita [2]Ethelredus, mense Januario Normanniam veniens, miserias suas sedulitate hospitis consolatus est. Erat ille [3]Ricardus filius Ricardi primi, qui felicitate et probitate sua patrem æquarit; certe in Dei rebus major. Cœnobium Fiscannense, quod pater inchoaverat, ad summam manum evexit. Orationibus et frugalitati adeo intentus, ut nullum monachum, nullum heremitam desiderares. Humilitate cernuus, ut lacescentium cervicositates pa-

Account of the Dukes of Normandy.

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[1] *Episcopus de Dunelmo et abbas de Burgo.*] According to Florence of Worcester, it was Aelfhun, bishop of London, who, with Aelfsine, abbot of Peterboro', accompanied Emma and her two sons, Eadward and Aelfred, into Normandy. See also Sax. Chron. A.D. 1013.

[2] *Ethelredus, mense Januario Normanniam veniens.*] 1st Jan. A.D. 1014.

[3] *Ricardus filius Ricardi primi.*] Richard II, called Le Bon, succeeded his father in 996. Several authorities state that he died on the 23rd of August 1027; but William of Jumiéges places his death in 1026, as does also a more ancient author. (Acta SS. Bened. sæc. III. p. 370.)

tientia sibi substerneret. Denique fertur quod noctibus, custodias famulorum fallens, incomitatus ad matutinas monachorum venire solitus fuerit, [1]genuflexibus usque ad lucem incumbens. Id præsertim apud Fiscannium exercens, quadam nocte maturius se agebat; cumque invenisset ostium obseratum, excusso violentius pessulo, soporem sacristæ turbavit. Ille, miratus in tali noctis horrore pulsantis strepitum, surrexit, ut videret tam audacis facti conscium; reperiensque ut videbatur rusticum, plebeio tectum amictu, non potuit animo suo imperare ut manibus temperaret, sed, vehementi felle commotus, crinem invadit, multos illustri viro colaphos infringens: durat ille incredibili patientia, nec mutire dignatus. Postero die in capitulo querelam deponit; iraque simulata, monachum ad vicum Argentias sibi præcepit occurrere, minitans se ulturum in ejus pervicacia, quod tota loqueretur Gallia. Die dicta monacho astante, et præ metu pene exanimato, rem proceribus exponit, atrocitatem facti per amplificationem exaggerans; conantem reum respondere callidis objectionibus aliquandiu suspendit. Postremo, ut jocundior esset miserationis materia, ab optimatibus judicatum clementer absolvit, totumque vicum illum, qui optimi vini ferax esse dicitur, cum appenditiis suis, officio [2]ejus addixit; pronuncians monachum esse optimum, qui, bene custodiens munus injunctum, [3]nec percitus ira laxaverit silentium. [4]Post viginti octo annos ducatus mortis viam in-

[1] *Genuflexibus.*] *C. D. E. M.*; genuflexionibus, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Ejus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; ejusdem sacristæ, *S.*

[3] *Nec percitus.*] This anecdote of Richard II, duke of Normandy, has been cited as a singular example of the manners of the age. (Prol. Rec. des Hist. de la France, tom. x.)

[4] *Post viginti octo annos ducatus.*] Richard II. held the duchy of Normandy thirty years. See note [3], p. 292.

grediens, jubet suum corpus [1]sepeliri ad ecclesiæ ostium, ubi et pedibus calcantium, et stillicidiis ex alto rorantibus, esset obnoxium; sed nostro tempore Willelmus, illius loci abbas tertius, rem deformem esse permensus, longam sustulit invidiam, et inde levatum ante majus altare locavit. [2]Habuit fratrem Robertum, quem archiepiscopum fecit Rotomagi; in hoc sane non parva macula gloriam aspergens: nam ille immaniter honore abusus, [3]multa primo facinora, multa flagitia commisit; sed postea in senium vergens, eleemosynis largissimis haud dubie quædam delevit. [4]Post Ricardum filius, ejusdem nominis, principatum sortitus, vixit anno vix uno. [5]Opinio certe incerta vagatur quod conniventia [6]fratris Roberti, quem Ricardus secundus ex Juditha, filia comitis Britonum Conani, susceperat, vim juveni venefica consciverit. Cujus rei gemens conscientiam, Ierosolymam post septem annos comitatus abierit; magnæ laudis causam tunc temporis adorsus, ut iter motibus suspectum barbaricis, ritibus

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[1] *Sepeliri ad ecclesiæ ostium.*] The church of Fécamp. Compare Dudo de S. Quintin's account of the death of Richard II.

[2] *Habuit fratrem Robertum, quem archiepiscopum fecit Rotomagi.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*—Robert was the son of Richard I, duke of Normandy, by his second wife Gonnor, who had been his concubine: he was made comte d'Evreux by his father in the year 989, who also made him archbishop of Rouen in the same year. He died before Easter, 1036. Some authorities place his death in 1037. (Gall. Christ. tom. XI.)

[3] *Multa primo facinora.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[4] *Post Ricardum filius, ejusdem nominis, principatum sortitus, vixit anno vix uno.*] According to Mabillon, Richard III. died on the 6th of August in the first year of his reign; but Ordericus Vitalis places his death in his second regnal year. Some authorities fix his death on the 3rd February 1028.

[5] *Opinio certe incerta vagatur.*] See William of Jumiéges, lib. VI. c. 2. and a short chronicle of S. Martin de Tours (apud Cheseenium, tom. III. Script. Franc. p. 360).

[6] *Fratris Roberti.*] Robert comte d'Hiêmes succeeded his brother in the dukedom of Normandy as Robert I, surnamed Robert le Magnifique, and le Diable.

diversum [1]Saracenis, cum paucis invaderet. Pertendit tamen, nec abstitit, totam viam salubriter emensus; multoque auro introitum mercatus, illud Christianorum decus, sepulchrum dico Dominicum, nudipes et lachrymans veneratus est. Hoc labore apud Deum (ut credimus) fœderata gratia, domumque revertens, [2]apud Niceam urbem Bithiniæ dies implevit, veneno ut [3]fertur interceptus: auctore ministro Radulfo, cognomento Mowino, qui scelus illud spe ducatus animo suo extorserit; sed Normanniam regressus, re cognita, ab omnibus quasi monstrum exsufflatus, in exilium perpetuum discessit. [4]Successit Roberto filius Willelmus puerulus, de quo in consequentibus dicturus, nunc quod instat repetam.

§ 179. Suanus interea, modo quo diximus, invasam Angliam rapinis et cædibus urgebat; provincialium substantiæ prius abrasæ, mox proscriptiones factæ. Hæsitabatur totis urbibus quid fieret: si pararetur rebellio, assertorem non haberent; si eligeretur subjectio, placido rectore carerent. Ita privatæ et publicæ opes ad naves cum obsidibus deportabantur, quod non esset ille dominus legitimus, sed tyrannus atrocissimus. Sed non diu propitia Divinitas in tanta miseria sivit fluctuare Angliam, siquidem pervasor continuo ad Purificationem sanctæ Mariæ, ambiguum qua morte, [5]vitam effudit. Dicitur quod terram sancti [6]Edmundi depopulanti martyr idem

Sweyn's conduct.

His death, A.D. 1014.

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[1] *Saracenis.*] *E.*; one MS. reads 'Saracenicis.'

[2] *Apud Niceam . . . dies implevit.*] On the 2nd July, A.D. 1035. William of Jumiéges, lib. VI. c. 13.

[3] *Fertur.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; dicitur, *S.*

[4] *Successit Roberto filius Willelmus puerulus.*] William the Bastard, afterwards king of England. He was not more than eight years of age at his father's death.

[5] *Vitam effudit.*] Sweyn died on the 3rd of February in the year 1014.

[6] *Edmundi.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Edmundi regis et martyris, *S.* Compare Hermannus, De miraculis S. Edmundi.

per visum apparuerit, leniterque de miseria conventum suorum, insolentiusque respondentem, in capite perculerit; quo dolore tactum, in proximo, ut prædictum est, obiisse. Dani Cnutonem filium Swani in regem eligunt. Angli contra, naturalem dominum cariorem sibi pronunciantes si regalius se quam consueverat ageret, e Normannia Edelredum accersunt. Ille primo mittit Edwardum filium, qui fidem principum, favorem vulgi, præsens specularetur; qui, ubi omnium vota in bonam partem vidit convenientia, securus pro patre revertitur. Ita [1]rex regressus, et lætis plausibus Anglorum delinitus, ut [2]familiarem desidiam excussisse videretur, maturavit contra Cnutonem exercitum colligere, qui tunc temporis in Lindesia, ubi eum genitor cum ratibus et obsidibus dimiserat, tirones et equos exigebat, ut pariter coactis viribus in imparatos se effunderet, graviter, ut ipse dictitavit, in desertores ulturus; sed dolo, qualem ipse machinabatur, præventus, terga ostendit: tunc ægre salvatus, et in altum cum reliquiis provectus, ab oriente usque in austrum mari Britanniæ circuito, ad Sandwic appulit. Ibi humano et divino jure contempto, obsides quos habebat, magnæ nobilitatis et elegantiæ pueros, naribus et auribus [3]truncos, quosdam etiam eviravit: sic in insontes grassatus, et magnum quid egisse gloriatus, [4]patriam petiit.

Aethelred's return from Normandy, A.D. 1014.

Cnut returns to Denmark, A.D. 1014.

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[1] *Rex regressus.*] Aethelred returned from Normandy A.D. 1014. The editors of the Rec. des Hist. de la France, on the authority of some chronologists, place the death of Sweyn, as well as the return of Aethelred to England, in the year 1015.

[2] *Familiarem desidiam excussisse videretur.*] See § 177, p. 290, 'quippe homo inertiæ deditus,' &c.

[3] *Truncos.*] *C. D. E. L.*; truncatos, *A. S.*

[4] *Patriam petiit.*] Cnut returned to Denmark in 1014. (See Flor. Wigorn. and Sax. Chron.)

Eodem anno [1] fluctus marinus, quem Græci Euripum, nos Ledonem vocamus, [2] mirum in modum excrevit, quantum nulla hominum memoria potest attingere; ita ut villas ultra multa milliaria submergeret, et habitatores interceptos necaret. [3] Sequenti magnum concilium congregatum est [4] apud Oxenefordum Danorum et Anglorum; ubi rex nobilissimos Danorum, [5] Sigeferdum et Morcardum, interfici jussit, delatione proditoris Edrici perfidiæ apud se insimulatos. Is illos, favorabilibus assentationibus deceptos, in triclinium pellexit, [6] largiterque potatos satellitibus ad hoc præparatis anima exuit: causa cædis ferebatur quod in bona eorum inhiaverat. Clientuli eorum, dominorum necem vindicare conantes, armis repulsi, et in turrim ecclesiæ sanctæ [7] Frideswidæ coacti; unde dum ejici nequirent, incendio conflagrati. Sed mox regis pœnitentia eliminata spurcitia, sacrarium reparatum; legi ego scrip-

A.D. 1014.

A.D. 1015.

[1] *Fluctus marinus, quem Græci Euripum, nos Ledonem vocamus.*] 'Euripus' seems to be the tide generally, and 'ledo' the neap or low tide, and not the spring tide, as Malmesbury here implies. 'Malina' is the spring tide. Hoveden, in giving the etymology of Lindisfarne, writes, 'Lindis dicitur flumen quod excurrit in mare, duorum pedum altitudinem habens quando *Ledo* fuerit, id est, minor æstus, et videri potest; quando vero *Malina* fuerit, id est, major æstus maris, tunc nequit Lindis videri.'

[2] *Mirum in modum excrevit.*] 'In this year (1014), on the eve of St. Michael's mass (28th Sept.), came the great sea-flood, which spread wide over this land, and ran so far up as it never did before, and washed away many towns, and countless number of people.' (Sax. Chron.) 'Mare littus egreditur tertio kal. Octobris, et in Anglia villas quamplurimas, innumerabilemque populi multitudinem, submersit.' (Flor. Wigorn.)

[3] *Sequenti.*] *A. C. E. L.*; Sequenti anno, *D. M.*; Sequenti autem anno, *S.*

[4] *Apud Oxenefordum.*] The great 'Gemot,' or council, at Oxford was held in the year 1015.

[5] *Sigeferdum et Morcardum.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; omitted in *D. M.* —The sons of Earngrim. (Flor. Wigorn.)

[6] *Largiterque potatos.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E.*

[7] *Frideswidæ.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Frideswidæ Oxoniæ, *S.*

tum, quod in archivo ejusdem ecclesiæ continetur index facti. Uxor Sigeferdi Malmesbiriam in captionem est abducta, spectabilis [1]nobilitatis fœmina; quapropter Edmundus regis filius, dissimulata intentione in partes illas iter arripiens, visam concupivit, concupitæ communionem habuit: sane patris eludens conscientiam, qui domesticis ut alienis esset ridiculo. Erat iste Edmundus non ex Emma natus, sed [2]ex quadam alia, quam fama obscura recondit. Præter [3]illud integer in cæteris, prædicandæ indolis juvenis, magni roboris et animo et corpore, et propter hoc ab Anglis Ireneside, id est, Ferreum latus, nuncupatus; qui patris ignaviam, matris ignobilitatem, virtute sua probe premeret si Parcæ parcere nossent. Nec mora, nuptæ consilio comitatum Sigeferdi, qui apud Northanhimbros amplissimus erat, a patre petitum, nec impetratum, suapte industria vendicavit; hominibus ejusdem provinciæ in obsequium ejus facile cedentibus.

Cnut returns to England, A.D. 1016.

§ 180. [4]Eadem æstate Cnuto, compositis rebus in Danamarchia, fœderata cum finitimis regibus amicitia, venit Angliam, eo animo ut [5]aut vincendum aut moriendum sibi proponeret. Itaque a Sandwic Cantiam, inde in West-Saxoniam progrediens, omnia cædibus incendiisque fœdabat; rege apud Cosham morbo decumbente. Tentavit quidem Edmundus occurrere; sed ab Edrico præpeditus, copias interim tuto loco continuit.

[1] *Nobilitatis.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nobilitatis et formæ, *S.*

[2] *Ex quadam alia, quam fama obscura recondit.*] Florence states that the mother of Eadmund Ironside was Alfgiva, daughter of Earl Agilberht. Ailred of Rievaulx, however, says she was the daughter of Toret, a noble earl.

[3] *Illud.*] *C. D. E.*; istud, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Eadem æstate Cnuto . . . venit Angliam.*] Cnut arrived in England early in January, A.D. 1016.

[5] *Aut vincendum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

At Edricus non ultra dissimulandum ratus, quin artes suas aperta fronte nudaret, ad Cnutonem cum quadraginta navibus defecit: omnis [1]quoque West-Saxonia, datis obsidibus et armis, idem fecit. Mercii vero, [2]sæpenumero congregati, se ad resistendum offerebant: veniret modo rex, et quo progrediendum esset præciperet, duceret secum proceres Londoniæ, paratos esse sanguinem suum patriæ impendere. Ille solitus salutem suam muris committere, non in hostem excurrere, Londoniæ degebat propter proditores, ut aiebat, nusquam procedens. Alter interea partibus suis urbes et vicos applicare, nullo tempore feriari, noctibus consultare, diebus pugnare. Edmundus, diu deliberato consilio in tanta rerum angustia, optimum factu arbitratus si urbes quæ defecerant pugnando reciperet, in eundem sensum Uhtredum, quendam Transhumbranum comitem, adduxit; cæteras enim, quæ adhuc dubio favore pendebant, confirmandas putabant si de rebellantibus graves pœnas sumerent. Sed Cnuto, non minori præditus astutia, simili eos ingenio circumvenit; nam commendatis West-Saxonibus, et Merciorum parte quam subjecerat, ducibus suis, ipse, in Northanhimbros profectus, depopulatione locorum Uhtredum ad sua defensanda redire coegit. Itaque, licet se dedisset, barbarica levitate jussus est jugulari. Comitatus ejus datus Iricio; quem postea, æquas sibi partes vendicantem, Cnuto ab Anglia expulit. Ita subjectis omnibus, Edmundum, per semetra fugitantem, non prius persequi destitit quam Londoniam ad patrem pervenisse cognosceret. Tunc usque post Pascha quievit, ut cum omni-

[1] *Quoque.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; quippe, *C.*

[2] *Sæpenumero.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; numero et spe, *S.*

Death of Aethelred, A.D. 1016.

Eadmund Ironside proclaimed king.

bus copiis urbem adoriretur. Sed prævenit conatum ejus mors Ethelredi; nam [1] in initio Quadragesimæ, die sancti [2] Gregorii, animam, laboribus et miseriis natam, efflavit: jacet apud sanctum Paulum Londoniæ. Oppidani Edmundum in regem conclamant. Ipse, mox congregato exercitu, apud Pennam [3] et Gilingeham Danos fugavit diebus Rogationum. Post festum sancti Johannis, ad [4] Seorstanum eisdem congressus, æquis manibus discessit; Anglis suis initium fugæ facientibus auctore Edrico, qui in parte adversariorum stans, et gladium in manu tenens, quem in pugna, quodam rustico impigre cæso, cruentarat, 'Fugite,' inquit, 'miseri fugite! ecce rex vester hoc ense occisus est!' Fugissent continuo Angli nisi rex, cognita re, in editum quendam collem procederet, ablata galea caput suum commilitonibus ostentans. Tunc, quantis poterat viribus hastile ferreum intorquens, in Edricum misit; sed ab illo prævisum et vitatum, in militem prope stantem peccavit, adeo ut alterum quoque affigeret. Nox prælium diremit, aciebus quasi ex conniventia discedentibus, Anglis tamen victoriam pene sperantibus; quo facto, West-Saxonum conversi animi dominum legitimum cognoverunt. Ipse Londoniam contendit, ut bene meritos cives liberaret, quos pars hostium statim post discessum suum incluserat; [5] fossa etiam ur-

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[1] *In initio Quadragesimæ, die sancti Gregorii, animam . . . efflavit.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, Aethelred died at London on Monday, 23rd April (St. George's day), A.D. 1016.

[2] *Gregorii.*] So in all the MSS. but we should probably read 'Georgii.'

[3] *Et.*] *C. E.*; juxta, *A.S.D.L.*

[4] *Seorstanum.*] Supposed to be a stone which divided the four counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick.

[5] *Fossa etiam urbem, qua fluvio Tamensi non alluitur, foris totam cinxerat.*] The trench appears to have been made on the south side of the river, and the ships drawn to the west side of the bridge to besiege the city. (See Sax. Chron.) The site of this trench is not now to be traced.

bem, qua fluvio Tamensi non alluitur, foris totam cinxerat, multaque vulnera fecerat et acceperat. Itaque, audito regis adventu, [1]fugam per prona invadunt: subsecutus eos e vestigio, et transito vado quod Brentford dicitur, victoriosa strage delevit. Reliqua multitudo, quæ cum Cnutone remanserat, Edmundo aliquantulum feriato et partes suas componente, Londoniam iterum terra flumineque obsidet; sed ab oppidanis magnanimiter pugnantibus repulsa, iram in collimitaneam Merciam effundit, vicos et villas rapinis, incendiis, cædibusque depopulans. Opima præda ad naves convecta quas in amne Medeguaia congregaverat: fluvius ille Rofensem urbem præterfluens, violentus et rapaci gurgite minax, mœnia pulchra lavat. Inde quoque rege pugnante fugata, præoccupatoque vado quod superius nominavi Brentford, insigni cæde profligata. Conantem ulterius tendere Edmundum, ut reliquias prædonum persequeretur ad internecionem, vafer ille et pessimus Edricus revocavit, ficto jamdudum animo in gratiam reversus; consilio enim Cnutonis cum Edmundo erat, ut ejus meditationes renunciaret. Ultimus ille dies Danis profecto fuisset si perseverandum rex putasset; sed præventus (ut dixi) susurro proditoris, qui hostes nihil ultra ausuros affirmaret, maturum sibi exitium et Angliæ toti paravit. Namque illi, data via fugiendi, iterum in unum coaluere, Orientales Anglos bello infestantes; ipsum quoque regem, suppetias ferentem, apud Assandunam cedere coegerunt. Auspicium fugæ fuit ille ex consulto, quem totiens nominare pudet. Pauci qui gloriæ suæ non immemores, et alterutros excitantes, cuneum fecerant, ad unum

Battle of Ashdown.

[1] *Fugam.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

interempti. Ibi Cnuto regnum expugnavit, ibi omne decus Angliæ occubuit, ibi flos patriæ totus emarcuit: inter quos Ulkillus Estanglorum comes, perpetuam jam famam meritus tempore Swani, quando, primus omnium piratas adorsus, spem dedit posse illos superari; et [1]præcipui tunc viri, abbates et episcopi. Edmundus, inde pene solus pedem referens, Gloecestram venit, ut ibi recollectis viribus hostes recenti victoria otiosos, sicut putabat, aggrederetur. Nec Cnutoni audacia defuit quin fugientem insequeretur. Ita, cum infestis signis constitissent, Edmundus singularem pugnam petiit, ne duo homunculi propter ambitionem regnandi tot subjectorum sanguine culparentur, cum possent sine dispendio fidelium suorum fortunam experiri. Magnam utrilibet laudem futuram, qui suo potissimum periculo tantum regnum nancisceretur. Hæc cum Cnutoni renunciarentur, abnuit prorsus; pronuncians, animo se quidem excellere, sed contra tam ingentis molis hominem corpusculo diffidere: verum, quia ambo non indebite regnum efflagitent quod patres amborum tenuerint, convenire prudentiæ ut depositis animositatibus [2]Angliam partiantur. Susceptum est hoc dictum ab utroque exercitu, magnoque assensu firmatum, quod et æquitati conquadraret, et mortalium paci, tot miseriis defatigatorum, placide consuleret. Ita Edmundus, unanimi clamore omnium superatus, concordiæ indulsit; fœdusque cum Cnutone percussit, sibi West-Saxoniam, illi

Eadmund's flight.

England divided between Eadmund and Cnut.

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[1] *Præcipui tunc viri, abbates et episcopi.*] Eadnoth bishop of Dorchester, Abbot Wulsige, Earls Aelfric, Godwine, and Aethelweard, are also named among the slain.

[2] *Angliam partiantur.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle, the meeting between Cnut and Eadmund took place at Olanege, near Deerhurst, an island on the river Severn.

concedens Merciam. Nec multo post, [1]in festo sancti Andreæ, ambiguum quo casu extinctus, Glastoniæ juxta Edgarum avum suum sepultus est. Fama Edricum infamat, quod favore alterius mortem ei per ministros porrexerit. Cubicularios regis fuisse duos, quibus omnem vitam suam commiserat: quos pollicitationibus illectos, et primo immanitatem flagitii exhorrentes, brevi complices suos effecisse. Ejus consilio ferreum uncum, ad naturæ requisita sedenti, in locis posterioribus adegisse. [2]Frater ejus ex matre Edwius, non aspernandæ probitatis adolescens, per proditorem Edricum, Anglia, jubente Cnutone, cessit: diu terris jactatus et alto, angore animi ut fit corpus infectus, dum furtivo reditu apud Anglos delitescit, defungitur, et apud Tavistokium tumulatur. [3]Filii ejus [4]Edwius et [5]Edwardus, missi ad regem Swevorum ut perimerentur, sed miseratione ejus conservati, Hunorum regem petierunt; ubi, dum benigne aliquo tempore habiti essent, major diem obiit, minor Agatham reginæ sororem in matrimonium accepit. [6]Fratres ex

Death of Eadmund Ironside, A.D. 1017.

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[1] *In festo sancti Andreæ, ambiguum quo casu extinctus.*] The true circumstances of Eadmund's death are involved in obscurity; but there seems little doubt that he was assassinated in the year 1017. Florence of Worcester and the Saxon Chronicle place his death on the 30th of Nov. 1016. Florence, however, adds the year of the indiction, which corresponds with A.D. 1017.

[2] *Frater ejus ex matre Edwius.*] Eadwi the brother of Eadmund Ironside, and Eadwi called Ceorla cyning, (king of the Clowns,) were outlawed A.D. 1017. The former was afterwards slain by order of Cnut. (Sax. Chron. Flor. Wigorn.)

[3] *Filii ejus.*] i. e. of Eadmund Ironside.

[4] *Edwius.*] We should probably read here 'Edmundus.' Eadmund and Eadward, sons of Eadmund Ironside, were sent by Cnut to the king of Sweden. (Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 1017.)

[5] *Edwardus.*] Eadward married Agatha, and by her had issue Eadgar Aetheling, Christiana a nun, and Margaret who married Malcolm king of Scotland.

[6] *Fratres ex Emma.*] 'Erat iste Edmundus non ex Emma natus,' &c. See antea, § 179, p. 298.

Emma, Elfredus et Edwardus, toto tempore quo Cnuto vixit, in Normannia tutas fovere latebras. De illorum in patriam restitutione Ricardum avunculum nihil egisse comperimus, quin et sororem suam Emmam hosti et invasori nuptum collocavit; ignores majore [1]illius dedecore qui dederit, an fœminæ quæ consenserit ut thalamo illius caleret qui virum infestaverit, filios effugaverit. Porro Robertus, quem superius [2]diximus Ierosolymam ivisse, multotiens, congregatis navibus et impositis militibus, profectionem paravit, subinde jactitans se pronepotes suos coronaturum: et proculdubio fidem dictis explesset, nisi quia (ut a majoribus accepimus) semper ei ventus adversabatur contrarius, per occultum scilicet Dei judicium, in cujus voluntate sunt potestates regnorum omnium. Reliquiæ ratium, multo tempore dissolutarum, Rotomagi adhuc nostra ætate visebantur.

Cnut king, A.D. 1017.

§ 181. Anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo decimo septimo Cnuto regnare cœpit, et viginti annis regnavit; injuste quidem regnum ingressus, sed magna civilitate et fortitudine vitam componens. Primis diebus regnum in quatuor partitus, sibi West-Saxones, Edrico Mercios, Turkillo Orientales Anglos, Iricio Northanhimbros: ac primo interfectores Edmundi, qui ultro spe ingentis præmii rem detulerant, apud se interim celatos, magna frequentia populi produxit in medium, palamque genus insidiarum professos supplicio affecit. Eodemque anno Edricus, quem digne infamare non possum, jussu regis, arte qua multos [3]frequenter circumvenerat ipse quoque

[1] *Illius.*] *S. D. E.*; omitted in *A. C. L.*

[2] *Diximus.*] § 178, p. 294.

[3] *Frequenter.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; ante frequenter, *C.*

conventus, putidum spiritum transmisit ad inferos. Nam nescio qua simultate [1]orta, dum asperius colloquerentur, ille fiducia [2]meritorum beneficia regi sua quasi amicabiliter improperans, ait, 'Edmundum pro te primo deserui, post etiam ob fidelitatem [3]tui extinxi:' quo dicto, Cnutoni facies immutata iram rubore prodidit, et continuo prolata sententia, 'Merito ergo,' inquit, 'et tu moriere, cum sis læsæ majestatis reus in Deum et in me, qui dominum proprium et fratrem mihi fœderatum occideris. Sanguis tuus super caput tuum, quia os tuum locutum est contra te quod misisti manus in christum Domini.' Mox, ne tumultus fieret, in eodem cubiculo proditor fauces elisus, et per fenestram in [4]Tamesim præcipitatus, perfidiæ meritum habuit. Succedente tempore [5]Turkillus et Iricius, ab Anglia captatis occasionibus eliminati, natale solum petierunt; [6]quorum primus, qui incentor necis beati Elfegi fuerat, statim ut Danemarchiæ littus attigit a ducibus oppressus est. Ita cum omnis Anglia pareret uni, ille ingenti studio Anglos sibi conciliare, æquum illis jus cum Danis suis in consessu, in concilio, in prælio concedere: qua de re, [7]ut prædixi, uxorem superioris regis e Normannia accersiit, ut, dum consuetæ do-

Death of Eadric, A.D. 1017.

Cnut's policy.

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[1] *Orta.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[2] *Meritorum.*] *S. E. L.*; Merciorum, *A. C. D.*

[3] *Tui.*] *D. E. L.*; tuam, *S. C.*; tui eum, *A.*

[4] *Tamesim.*] *A. D. E. L.*; Tamesim fluvium, *S. C.*—Eadric Streona was put to death, and thrown into the Thames, A.D. 1017.

[5] *Turkillus.*] Thurcil, with his wife Eadgitha, was banished from England by Cnut, 11th Nov. A.D. 1021.

[6] *Quorum primus . . . oppressus est.*] Osberne, in his History of the Translation of the body of Archbishop Aelfheâh, states that, Thurcil having fled into Denmark, the Danish chiefs, fearing that he would incite the people to rebellion, put him to death.

[7] *Ut prædixi.*] See § 180, p. 304.

minæ deferrent obsequium, minus Danorum suspirarent imperium; simul eo facto Ricardi alliciens gratiam, ut parum de nepotibus cogitaret, qui alios ex Cnutone se suscepturum speraret. Monasteria per Angliam suis et patris excursionibus partim fœdata, partim eruta, reparavit; loca
A.D. 1020. omnia in quibus pugnaverat, et [1]præcipue Assandunam, ecclesiis insignivit; ministros instituit, qui per succidua seculorum volumina Deo supplicarent pro animabus ibi occisorum. Ad consecrationem illius basilicæ et ipse affuit, et optimates Anglorum et Danorum donaria porrexerunt: nunc, ut [2]fertur, modica est ecclesia presbytero parochiano delegata. [3]Supra corpus beatissimi Edmundi, quem antiquiores Dani interfecerant, basilicam animositate regia construxit, abbatem et monachos instituit, prædia multa et magna contulit: præstat hodieque donorum ejus amplitudo integra, quod locus ille infra se aspiciat omnia pene Angliæ cœnobia. [4]Corpus beati Elfegi, apud sanctum Paulum Londoniæ tumulatum, ipse suis manibus inde levavit, et ad propria remissum, dignis assentationibus veneratus est. [5]Ita omnia, quæ ipse et antecessores sui deliquerant, corrigere satagens, prioris injustitiæ nævum apud Deum for-

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[1] *Præcipue Assandunam.*] See Sax. Chron. A.D. 1020.

[2] *Fertur.*] *S. D. E.*; ferunt, *A. C. L.*

[3] *Supra corpus beatissimi Edmundi . . . basilicam animositate regia construxit.*] This monastery was not founded by Cnut: Sigiberht king of East-Anglia, having abdicated his throne, built the monastery, at that time called Beadarichesworth, and became a monk there. On its becoming the depositary of the remains of King Eadmund, the name of the place was changed to Eadmundsburh. In the year 1020, Cnut rebuilt the monastery, and expelled the secular clerks, placing therein a convent of Benedictine monks from Hulm in Norfolk.

[4] *Corpus beati Elfegi, apud sanctum Paulum Londoniæ tumulatum . . . ad propria remissum.*] See note [4], p. 265.

[5] *Ita.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; in, *C.*

tassis, apud homines certe abstersit. Wintoniæ maxime munificentiæ suæ magnificentiam ostendit, ubi tanta intulit ut moles metallorum terreat advenarum [1]animos, splendor gemmarum reverberet intuentium oculos; [2]Emmæ suggestu, quæ in talibus thesauros dilapidabat sanctitate prodiga, dum ille in exteris terris dura meditaretur prælia: nam nescia virtus ejus stare loco, nec contenta Danamarchia quam avito, et Anglia quam bellico jure obtinebat, martem [3]in A.D. 1025.
Swevos transtulit. Sunt illi Danis contermini, pertinacioribus studiis iram Cnutonis emeriti: sed primo, exceptus insidiis, multos ex suis amisit; postremo, reparatis viribus, [4]insistentes in fugam vertit; reges gentis Ulf et Eiglaf ad deditiones pacis adduxit: promptissimis [5]in ea pugna Anglis, hortante Godwino comite ut, pristinæ gloriæ memores, robur suum oculis novi domini assererent; illud fuisse fortunæ quod ab eo quondam victi fuissent, illud virtutis quod illos premerent qui eum vicissent. Incubuere igitur viribus Angli; et, victoriam consummantes, comitatum duci, sibi laudem pararunt. Rediens inde domum, totum regnum Noricorum subegit, A.D. 1028.
[6]effugato rege Olavo; qui, posteriori anno, ut animos provincialium suorum tentaret, cum parva manu in regnum regressus, infidos sibi sensit, cum suis cæsus.

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[1] *Animos.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[2] *Emmæ suggestu.*] See post, § 196, p. 331.

[3] *In Swevos transtulit.*] Cnut sailed for Denmark in 1025, and engaged Ulf and Eglaf with a powerful army from Sweden, at a plain near the Holy River. (Sax. Chron.)

[4] *Insistentes.*] *C. D. E.*; resistentes, *A. S. L.*

[5] *In.*] *E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. D.*

[6] *Effugato rege Olavo.*] The defeat of King Olaf, and the subjugation of Norway by Cnut, took place in 1028. Olaf returned to Norway A.D. 1030, in which year he was slain.

Cnut's journey to Rome, A.D. 1027.

§ 182. [1]Cnuto, decimo quinto anno [2]regni, Romam profectus est: ibi aliquantis diebus commoratus, et eleemosynis per [3]ecclesias peccata redimens, navigio Angliam rediit; et mox Scotiam rebellantem, regemque Malcolmum, expeditione illuc ducta, parvo subegit negotio. Veruntamen non inoperosum videbitur si epistolam, quam, Roma digrediens, Anglis suis per [4]Livingum Tavistokiensem abbatem, mox episcopum Cridintunensem, misit, [5]apponam, ad documentum emendatioris vitæ et regalis magnificentiæ.

His epistle.

§ 183. 'Cnuto, rex totius Angliæ, et Denemarchiæ, [6]et Norregiæ, et partis Swavorum, [7]Alnotho metropolitano, et [8]Alfrico Eboracensi, omnibusque episcopis et primatibus, et toti genti Anglorum, tam nobilibus quam plebeiis, salutem. Notifico vobis me noviter isse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum, et pro salute

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[1] *Cnuto, decimo quinto anno regni, Romam profectus est.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and other English writers, Cnut went to Rome in the year 1031: but this date does not agree with that assigned for the coronation of the emperor Conrad at Rome by Pope John XIX, (Easter Sunday 1027,) at which ceremony Cnut is said to have been present. According to Wippo, (Pistorius, Rer. Germ. Script. III. 472, Ratisbon. 1726,) the journey to Rome took place in 1027. See note [1], p. 309, post.

[2] *Regni.*] *D. E.*; regni sui, *A. S. C.*

[3] *Ecclesias.*] *S. C. E. L.*; ecclesias erogatis, *A. D. M.*

[4] *Livingum Tavistokiensem abbatem, mox episcopum Cridintunensem.*] Lyfing became bishop of Crediton, A.D. 1032; and on the death of Brihthêah, bishop of Worcester, (20 Dec. 1038,) he was translated to that see. He died A.D. 1046.

[5] *Apponam.*] This epistle also occurs in Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1031.

[6] *Et Norregiæ.*] If Cnut went to Rome in 1027, as the Danish chronologists affirm, he could not at that time properly have styled himself King of Norway.

[7] *Alnotho metropolitano.*] Aegelnoth, surnamed the Good, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1020: he died in 1038.

[8] *Alfrico Eboracensi.*] Aelfric was made archbishop of York A.D. 1023.

regnorum, quique meo subjacent regimini populorum. Hanc quidem profectionem Deo jam olim devoveram; sed pro negotiis regni, et causis impedientibus, huc usque non poteram perficere. Nunc autem ipsi Deo meo omnipotenti valde humiliter gratias ago, quod concessit in vita mea beatos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, et omne sanctuarium quod intra urbem Romam aut extra addiscere potui expetere, et, secundum desiderium meum, præsentialiter venerari et adorare. Et ideo maxime hoc patravi, quia a sapientibus didici sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse a Domino ligandi et solvendi, clavigerumque esse cœlestis regni; et ideo specialiter ejus patrocinium apud Deum expetere valde utile duxi. Sit autem vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilium in ipsa Paschali solemnitate ibi cum domino [1]papa Johanne et imperatore [2]Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a [3]monte Gargano usque

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[1] *Papa Johanne.*] John XIX, sometimes called XX, became pope without having been previously in holy orders; he was a consul duke and senator of Rome: 'uno eodemque die laicus et pontifex fuit.' He succeeded his brother Benedict VIII. in 1024; but his election to the papacy is believed to have been effected through bribery. The emperor Conrad II. received the imperial crown from his hands on Easter-day 1027, at which ceremony Cnut is said to have been present, with Rodolfe king of Burgundy, and other princes. This date does not correspond with the statements of the English chroniclers, who place Cnut's journey to Rome in 1031. The letter of Cnut bears no date, though he therein refers to the fact of the emperor being present with Pope John, and a great assemblage of noble persons, at a festival on Easter-day, who honourably received him, and made him valuable presents.

[2] *Conrado.*] Conrad II, surnamed Le Salique, was elected king of Germany, upon the death of the emperor Henry, by the states, and crowned at Mayence on the 8th September 1024. He was crowned emperor with his queen by Pope John XIX, called XX, on Easter-day (26th March) 1027, in the presence of Cnut, as it is said, and Rodolfe king of Burgundy.

[3] *Monte Gargano.*] St. Angelo in Calabria.

ad istud proximum mare; qui omnes me et honorifice suscepere, et magnificis donis honoravere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis variis et muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis et argenteis, quam in palliis et vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore et domino papa, et principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei tam Angli quam Dani, ut eis concederetur lex æquior et pax securior in via Romam adeundi, et ne tot clausuris per viam arcentur, et propter injustum theloneum fatigentur: annuitque postulatis imperator, et [1]Rodulfus rex qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur; cunctique principes [2]edictum firmarunt ut homines mei, tam mercatores, quam alii orandi gratia viatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum et theloneorum, cum firma pace Romam eant et redeant. Conquestus sum iterum coram domino papa, et mihi valde displicere dixi, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantum angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum quæ ab eis expetebantur dum pro pallio accipiendo, secundum morem, apostolicam sedem expeterent; decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat. Cuncta enim quæ a domino papa, et ab imperatore, et a rege Rodulfo, cæterisque principibus per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro meæ gentis utilitate postulabam, libenter annuerunt; et concessa etiam sacramento firmaverunt, sub testimonio quatuor archiepiscoporum, et [3]viginti episcoporum, et innumeræ multitudinis ducum et nobilium quæ

[1] *Rodulfus rex.*] Rodolfe III, called Le Fainéant, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Arles or Burgundy, A.D. 993. He is said to have been present with Cnut at the coronation of the emperor Conrad at Rome, on Easter-day 1027.

[2] *Edictum.*] *E.*; edictis, *S. C.*; edictisque, *A. D. L.*

[3] *Viginti.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; viginti quatuor, *C.*

aderat. Quapropter Deo omnipotenti gratias magnificas reddo, quia omnia quæ desideraveram, prout mente decreveram, prospere perfeci, votisque meis ad velle satisfeci. Nunc itaque sit notum quia ipsi Deo supplex devovi vitam meam a modo in omnibus justificare, et regna mihi subdita populosque juste et pie regere, æquumque judicium per [1]omnes observare; et si quid per meæ juventutis intemperantiam aut negligentiam hactenus, præter id quod justum erat, actum est, totum Deo auxiliante dispono emendare. Iccirco obtestor, et præcipio meis consiliariis quibus regni consilia credidi, ne ullo modo, aut propter meum timorem aut alicujus potentis personæ favorem, aliquam injustitiam a modo consentiant, vel faciant pullulare, in omni regno meo. Præcipio etiam omnibus vicecomitibus et præpositis universi regni mei, sicut meam volunt habere amicitiam aut suam salutem, ut nulli homini, nec diviti nec pauperi, vim injustam inferant; sed omnibus, tam nobilibus quam ignobilibus, sit fas justa lege potiundi, a qua nec propter favorem regium, nec propter alicujus potentis personam, nec propter mihi congerendam pecuniam, ullo modo devient, quia nulla mihi necessitas est ut iniqua exactione pecunia mihi congeratur. Ego itaque notum vobis fieri volo, quod, eadem via qua exivi regrediens, Danemarchiam vado, pacem et firmum pactum, omnium Danorum consilio, compositurus cum eis gentibus quæ nos et vita et regno privare, si eis esset possibile, volebant; sed non potuerunt, Deo scilicet virtutem eorum destruente, qui nos sua benignitate in regno et honore conservet, omnium-

[1] *Omnes.*] *C. D. E.*; omnia, *A. S. L.*

que inimicorum nostrorum potentiam adnihilet. Composita denique pace cum gentibus quæ in circuitu nostro sunt, dispositoque et [1]pacato omni regno nostro hic in oriente, ita ut a nulla parte bellúm aut inimicitias aliquorum timere habeamus, quam citius hac æstate apparatum navigii habere potero, Angliam venire dispono. Hanc autem epistolam jam præmisi, ut de mea prosperitate omnis populus regni mei lætificetur; quia, ut vos ipsi scitis, nunquam memet ipsum nec meum laborem abstinui, nec adhuc abstinebo, impendere pro omnis populi mei necessaria utilitate. Nunc igitur obtestor omnes episcopos meos et regni præpositos, per fidem quam mihi debetis et Deo, quatenus faciatis ut, antequam Angliam veniam, omnium debita quæ secundum legem antiquam debemus sint persoluta; scilicet [2]eleemosyna pro aratris, et decimæ animalium ipso anno procreatorum, et [3]denarii quos Romam ad sanctum Petrum debetis, sive ex urbibus sive ex villis, et mediante Augusto decima frugum, et in festivitate sancti Martini primitiæ seminum ad ecclesiam sub cujus parochia quisque degit, quæ Anglice [4]Chirchsceet nominatur. Hæc et alia si cum venero non erunt persoluta, regia exactione secundum leges in quem culpa cadit

[1] *Pacato.*] *A. S. D. E.*; parato, *C.*; parato *vel* pacato, *L.*

[2] *Eleemosyna pro aratris.*] Plough-alms, one penny paid to the church for every ploughland. 'De qualibet caruca juncta inter Pascha et Pentecostem unum denarium, qui dicitur Ploualmes.' (Ex Regist. de Ramesey, in Arch. Scac. fol. 158.)

[3] *Denarii quos Romam ad sanctum Petrum debetis.*] Romefeoh, or Peter-pence. See note [1], p. 152.

[4] *Chirchseet.*] *E.*; Chirchescot, *D.*; Cyrescet, *C. L.*; Scyrisceat, *A.*; Curescet vel Chireseth, *S.*—Mr. Kemble, in a very learned dissertation upon this word, has conclusively shown that the church sceat, or church shot, was not, as some would make it out to be, a church-rate, but a 'certain rent in threshed corn, which every man among the Britons and the English was obliged to carry to his church on St. Martin's day.'

districte absque venia comparabit.' Nec dicto deterius fuit factum. Omnes enim leges ab antiquis regibus, et maxime ab antecessore suo Ethelredo latas, sub interminatione regiæ mulctæ perpetuis temporibus observari præcepit; [1] in quarum custodiam etiam nunc tempore bonorum sub nomine regis Edwardi juratur, non quod ille statuerit, sed quod observarit.

§ 184. Erant tunc in Anglia summi et sapientissimi viri, quorum precipuus [2] Ethelnothus, archiepiscopus post [3] Livingum: hic, ex decano summus sacerdos, multa opera prædicabili memoria digna fecit, regem ipsum auctoritate sanctitudinis in bonis actibus mulcens, in excessibus terrens; sedem archiepiscopatus et [4] prius præsentia corporis sancti Elfegi sublimavit, et postea Romæ præsens in pristinam dignitatem reparavit. Domum rediens, apud Papiam brachium [5] sancti Augustini doctoris centum talentis argenti et talento auri comparatum, apud Coventreiam misit. [6] Porro Cnuto Glastoniensem ecclesiam, ut fratris sui Edmundi manes inviseret, (sic enim eum vo- Account of Aegelnoth archbishop of Canterbury.

[1] *In quarum custodiam . . . observarit.*] Mr. Sharpe suggests that Malmesbury probably had in view the practice of the early princes of the Norman line, who swore to observe the laws of King Eadward. In the margin of *D.* these words occur, 'Hic desunt leges Cnutonis;' and in *L.* 'Hic desunt leges Cnutonis, continentes sex folia et dimidium.'

[2] *Ethelnothus.*] See note [7], p. 308.

[3] *Livingum.*] See note [4], p. 288.

[4] *Prius præsentia corporis sancti Elfegi sublimavit, et postea Romæ præsens in pristinam dignitatem reparavit.*] These two transactions are inverted: Aegelnoth went to Rome in 1022, and translated Aelfheâh's body in 1023. See Osberne, 'De Translatione S. Elfegi.' (Angl. Sacr.)

[5] *Sancti Augustini doctoris.*] Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, in Africa. He died on the 28th of August, A.D. 430, during the siege of Hippo, where he was buried. His relics were carried by the African bishops to their Sardinian exile (A.D. 500); and it was believed in the 8th century that Liutprand, king of the Lombards, transported them (A.D. 721) from Sardinia to Pavia. Augustine's life has been written by Tillemont, in the thirteenth volume of the Mem. Eccles.

[6] *Porro.*] *A. G. L.* omit the text from 'Porro' to the end of § 185.

care solitus fuerat,) festinavit; factaque oratione, super sepulchrum pallium misit versicoloribus figuris pavonum, ut videtur, intextum. Astabat regio lateri supradictus Ethelnothus, qui septimus [1] ex monachis Glastoniensis cœnobii præsidebat cathedræ Cantuariensi. Primus [2] Brithwaldus; secundus [3] Adthelmus, qui primus Wellis episcopus; tertius nepos ejus [4] Dunstanus; quartus [5] Ethelgarus, qui novi monasterii Wintoniæ abbas primus, deinde Cicestrensis episcopus; quintus [6] Siricus, qui factus archiepiscopus nutriculæ suæ septem dedit pallia, de quibus in anniversario ejus tota antiqua ornatur ecclesia; sextus [7] Elfegus, qui ex prioratu Glastoniæ primus factus est abbas Bathoniæ, deinde episcopus Wintoniæ; septimus [8] Ethelnothus, qui, cum regi antecessorum suorum privilegia ostendisset, rogavit et rogando obtinuit ut scripto [9] regio in hæc verba confirmaret.

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[1] *Ex monachis.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D.*

[2] *Brithwaldus.*] Berhtwald was elected archbishop of Canterbury 1st July, A.D. 692, but was not ordained until Sunday, 29th of June, A.D. 693: the ceremony was performed in France, by Godwine, metropolitan bishop of France; and on Sunday, 31st August, in the same year, he was enthroned at Canterbury. He died 9th Jan. A.D. 731.

[3] *Adthelmus.*] Athelmus was the first bishop of Wells, and was translated from that see to Canterbury in the year 911. The fact of his having been a monk of Glastonbury is, however, disputed. See Wharton's note, [a], in the Anglia Sacra, pars I. p. 556.

[4] *Dunstanus.*] See § 149, p. 237.

[5] *Ethelgarus.*] Aethelgâr was originally a monk of Glastonbury, and was made the first abbot of the new monastery founded at Winchester, after the secular canons were expelled. He was consecrated bishop of Selsey in the year 980, translated to Canterbury in 988, and died 3rd Dec. 989.

[6] *Siricus.*] Siric, from a monk of Glastonbury, was made bishop of Wilton in the year 986, translated to Canterbury A.D. 1000; and died in 1005.

[7] *Elfegus.*] Aelfheâh. From prior of Glastonbury, he became abbot of Bath; and afterwards, in the year 984, bishop of Winchester. He was translated to Canterbury in 1005, and was slain by the Danes in 1012. See notes [1], [4], p. 265.

[8] *Ethelnothus.*] See note [7], p. 308.

[9] *Regio.*] *S. C. D. E 2. M.*; omitted in *E.*

§ 185. '[1]Regnante in perpetuum Domino, qui sua ineffabili potentia omnia disponit atque gubernat, vicesque temporum hominumque mirabiliter discernens, terminumque incertum prout vult æquanimiter imponens, et de secretis naturæ mysteriis misericorditer docet ut de fugitivis et sine dubio transitoriis mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt. Quapropter ego Cnut rex Anglorum, cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector, cum [2]consilio et decreto archipræsulis nostri Ethelnothi, simulque cunctorum Dei sacerdotum, et consilio optimatum meorum, ob amorem cœlestis regni, [3]et indulgentiam criminum meorum, et relaxationem peccaminum [4]fratris mei regis Edmundi, concedo ecclesiæ sanctæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ Glastoniæ jura et consuetudines in omni regno meo, et omnes forisfacturas omnium terrarum suarum; et sint terræ ejus sibi liberæ et solutæ ab omni calumpnia et inquietatione, sicuti meæ mihi habentur. Verum illud præcipue ex omnipotentis Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti auctoritate, et perpetuæ virginis interdictione prohibeo, et universis regni mei præpositis et primatibus super suam salutem præcipio, ut nullus omnino illam insulam intrare audeat, cujuscunque ordinis aut dignitatis sit; sed omnia, tam in ecclesiasticis quam in secularibus causis, tantummodo abbatis judicium et conventus expectent, sicuti prædecessores mei sanxerunt et privilegiis confirmaverunt, Chentwines,

Cnut's charter to Glastonbury.

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[1] *Regnante.*] This charter occurs in Malmes. Antiq. Glast. Eccl. and is printed in Gale, III. p. 323.

[2] *Consilio.*] *E.*; consensu, *S. C. D.*

[3] *Et indulgentiam criminum meorum, et relaxationem.*] Omitted in *C* 1.

[4] *Fratris mei regis Edmundi.*] 'Sic enim eum vocare solitus fuerat.' See § 184, pp. 313, 314.

Ines, Cuthredus, [1]Elfredus, [2]Edwardus, [3]Athelstanus, et gloriosissimus Edmundus, et incomparabilis Edgarus. Si quis autem quovis deinceps tempore sub aliqua occasione interrumpere atque irritum facere hujus privilegii testamentum nisus fuerit, sit a consortio piorum ultimi examinis ventilabro dispertitus. Si quis vero benevola intentione hæc facere, probare, et defensare studuerit, beatissimæ Dei [4]genitricis et omnium sanctorum intercessione amplificet Deus portionem ejus in terra viventium.' Scripta est hujus privilegii donatio, et [5]provulgata in lignea basilica sub præsentia regis Cnutonis, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo tricesimo secundo, indictione [6]secunda.

Account of Fulbert bishop of Chartres.

§ 186. [7]Ejusdem etiam archipræsulis monitu, rex ad transmarinas ecclesias pecunias mittens, maxime [8]Carnotum ditavit, ubi tunc florebat [9]Fulbertus episcopus in sanctitate et philosophia nominatissimus: qui inter cætera industriæ suæ documenta ecclesiæ dominæ nostræ sanctæ Mariæ, cujus fundamenta jecerat, summam manum mirifico effectu imposuit; quam etiam, pro posse honorificare studens, musicis modulationibus cre-

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[1] *Elfredus.*] *C. E.*; Elredus, *D.*; Ailredus, Alfredus, *S.*

[2] *Edwardus.*] *S.* reads 'Ethelredus' after 'Edwardus.'

[3] *Athelstanus, et gloriosissimus.*] Omitted in *C.*

[4] *Genitricis.*] *D. E.*; genitricis Mariæ, *S. C.*

[5] *Provulgata.*] *E.*; promulgata, *S. C. D.*

[6] *Secunda.*] *E.*; prima, *D.*; omitted in *S. C.*—A.D. 1032 corresponds with indict. xv.

[7] *Ejusdem etiam archipræsulis monitu, rex.*] *S. C. D. E.*; ejus monitu rex etiam, *A. G. L.*

[8] *Carnotum.*] Chartres.

[9] *Fulbertus.*] Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, (A.D. 1007—1029,) was a disciple of Gerbert, afterwards Silvester II. Several authors place him among the chancellors of France under the reign of Robert, but others, with much reason, dispute it. He appears to have been chancellor only of the church of Chartres. His works, consisting of epistles, sermons, canons, hymns, and other metrical pieces, were first printed in 1608, under the care of Charles de Villiers. (Op. Var. 8vo. Paris, 1608.) He died about the year 1029.

bro extulit. [1]Quanto enim amore in honorem Virginis anhelaverit, poterit conjicere qui cantus audierit cœlestia vota sonantes. Extat inter cætera opuscula ejus epistolarum volumen, [2]in quarum una gratias agit Cnutoni magnificentissimo regi, quod largitatis suæ viscera in expensas ecclesiæ Carnotensis effuderit.

Death of Robert king of France, A.D. 1031.

§ 187. Ejus anno decimo quinto Robertus rex Francorum, [3]de quo supra prælibavimus, vitam clausit; vir eleemosynis deditus, adeo ut festis diebus cum amiciretur, et exueretur regiis insignibus, si non aliud haberet ad manum, ipsa vestimenta pauperibus distribueret, nisi ex industria vestiarii egenos importune petentes arcerent. Habebat duos filios, Odonem et Henricum; [4]Odo major natu hebes, alter astutus et vehemens. Diviserat in amorem prolem utram-

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[1] *Quanto enim amore in honorem Virginis . . . sonantes.*] 'On dit qu'il avoit une si particulière dévotion à la Sainte Vierge qu'elle l'honora souvent de ses faveurs particulières.' (Moreri.)

[2] *In quarum una.*] See the letter of Fulbert to King Cnut, (an. 1020 aut 1021,) No. XLIV. p. 466, tom. X. Rec. des Hist. de la France. Fulberti Carnot. Episc. Op. Var. 8vo. Par. 1608. Epist. XCVII. p. 92.

[3] *De quo supra prælibavimus.*] See antea, § 168, p. 276.

[4] *Odo major natu hebes.*] Malmesbury, in common with the chronicle of St. Martin de Tours, (apud Chesn. tom. III. Script. Hist. Franc. p. 360,) and some other French chronicles, is here betrayed into error respecting the sons of Robert king of France. Upon the death of Hugh, the eldest son, (17 Sept. A.D. 1025,) who had been crowned at Compiègne in 1017, Robert was desirous of associating with himself on the throne Henry, his second son, duke of Burgundy; but that design was opposed by Constance, who deemed her third son, Robert, fitter for the government. Henry, however, was in the end preferred, and advanced to the throne on Whitsunday (14th May) 1027, when his brother Robert was created duke of Burgundy. Odo, the fourth son, being of weak intellect, lived in privacy. (See Rodulf Glaber, lib. III. De filiis regis Roberti.) Alberic de Trois Fontaines supposes Malmesbury to have intended Robert, but miscalled him Odo. Alberic, however, himself falls into error in making Henry younger than Robert, and in stating that Henry was by his mother's assistance raised to the throne; whereas Constance opposed his claims, and favoured the advancement of Robert.

que parens uterque: pater primogenitum amplectebatur, dictitans successurum; mater minorem fovebat, cui, et si non per ætatem, per prudentiam certe regnum deberetur. Ita, ut sunt fœminæ in incepto pertinaces, non prius abstitit quam omnes duces, qui regno Francorum famulantur, præmiis et pollicitis ingentibus in sua vota transduceret. Henricus ergo, [1] maxime annitente Roberto Normanno, coronatus est priusquam plane pater [2] expirasset. Cujus beneficii obnoxius, cum ille, [3] ut superius dixi, Ierosolymam iret, Willelmum filium ejus puerulum contra desertores enixissime juvit. At Cnuto, transcursa vitæ meta, Scepthoniæ [4] defunctus, et Wintoniæ sepultus est.

Death of Cnut, A.D. 1035.

DE HAROLDO FILIO CNUTONIS.

Harold, A.D. 1037.

§ 188. [5] Anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo tricesimo sexto [6] Haroldus, quem fama filium Cnutonis ex filia Elfelmi comitis loquebatur, regnavit annis quatuor et mensibus totidem. Elegerunt eum Dani et Londoniæ cives, qui jam pene in barbarorum mores propter frequentem convictum transierant. Angli diu obstiterunt; magis unum ex filiis Ethelredi, qui in Norman-

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[1] *Maxime annitente.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; maxime annuente, *S.*

[2] *Expirasset.*] *E* 1.; expiraret, *A. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[3] *Ut superius dixi.*] § 178, p. 294, and § 180, p. 304.

[4] *Defunctus.*] Cnut died on the 12th November in the year 1035. (Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.)

[5] *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo tricesimo sexto.*] After the death of Cnut the kingdom was at first divided: the northern part fell to the share of Harold, and Hardacnut obtained the southern division. In the year 1037 Harold was chosen to reign over all England. (Flor. Wigorn.)

[6] *Haroldus, quem fama filium Cnutonis ex filia Elfelmi comitis loquebatur.*] 'Some men said of Harold, that he was the son of Cnut and Elfgife the daughter of Elfelm, ealdorman; but it was thought very incredible by many men.' (Sax. Chron.) Florence states that Elgife, not being able to bear the king a son, passed upon him the child of a cobbler.

nia [1]morabantur, vel Hardecnutum filium Cnutonis ex Emma, qui tunc in Danemarchia erat, regem habere volentes. Maximus [2]tum justitiæ propugnator fuit Godwinus comes, qui etiam pupillorum se tutorem professus, reginam Emmam et regias gazas custodiens, resistentes umbone nominis sui aliquandiu dispulit; sed tandem, vi et numero impar, cessit violentiæ. Haroldus sceptro confirmato [3]novercam exiliavit. Illa in A.D. 1037. Normannia nihil sibi tutum arbitrata, ubi, defunctis fratre et nepotibus, recens deserti orphani fervebat invidia, in Flandriam transiit ad [4]Baldewinum comitem, expertum probitate virum; qui postea, defuncto [5]rege Henrico qui [6]Philippum parvum reliquerat filium, regnum Francorum nobiliter aliquantis annis rexit, fideliterque adulto (nam ejus amitam uxorem habebat) restituit. Hujus sub umbra Emma securum triennium egit; quo peracto, [7]Haroldus, apud Oxenefordam mense Death of Harold, A.D. 1040. Aprili defunctus, Westmonasterio tumulum habet. Tunc Anglis et Danis in unam sententiam Hardacnut. convenientibus, propter Hardecnut missum, ille per Normanniam [8]in Angliam mense Augusto

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[1] *Morabantur.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[2] *Tum.*] *A. E. L.*; tamen, *D.*; autem, *C* 1.; tunc, *C* 2.

[3] *Novercam exiliavit.*] Emma was exiled in the year 1037.

[4] *Baldewinum comitem.*] Baldwin, surnamed De l'Isle, earl of Flanders, succeeded his father Baldwin IV, A.D. 1036, or, as some contend, A.D. 1035. Emma was honourably received by the earl and his wife Adela, daughter of Robert king of France. (See Encomium Emmæ.) Baldwin was appointed by King Henry, in the year 1059, as tutor to his son Philippe.

[5] *Rege Henrico.*] King Henry died in 1060, leaving Philippe his successor, then only seven years old. See note [6], p. 202.

[6] *Philippum.*] Philippe died in 1108. See note [1], p. 203.

[7] *Haroldus, apud Oxenefordam mense Aprili defunctus.*] According to the Saxon Chronicle, Harold died on the 17th of March (XVI. kl. Apr.) 1040.

[8] *In Angliam mense Augusto venit.*] The Saxon Chronicle makes Hardacnut arrive at Sandwich on the 17th of June (VII. nihꞇum æꞃ mıꝺꝺan ꞅumeꞃa). See p. 320, note [1].

venit; nam filii Ethelredi jam fere omnibus despectui erant, magis propter paternæ socordiæ memoriam, quam propter Danorum potentiam. [1]Hardecnutus, biennio præter decem dies regnans, spiritum inter pocula apud Lamudam juxta Londoniam amisit, et Wintoniæ juxta patrem sepultus est: juvenis, qui egregiam pietatem animi in fratrem et sororem ostenderit; germanum enim Edwardum, annosæ peregrinationis tædio, et spe fraternæ necessitudinis, natale solum revisentem, obviis (ut aiunt) manibus excipiens indulgentissime retinuit. Veruntamen immaturus in cæteris, per Alfricum Eboracensem [2]episcopum, et alios quos nominare piget, Haroldi cadavere defosso, caput truncari, et miserando mortalibus exemplo, in Tamesim projici jussit. Id a quodam piscatore exceptum sagena, [3]in cœmiterio Danorum Londoniæ tumulatur. Tributum inexorabile et importabile Angliæ imposuit, ut classiariis suis per singulas naves [4]viginti marcas ex pollicito pensitaret. Quod dum importune per Angliam exigitur, duo infestius hoc munus exequentes a Wigorniæ civibus extincti sunt; quapropter per comites suos urbe incensa et depopulata, fortunisque civium abrasis, contumeliam

Death of Hardacnut, A.D. 1042.

A.D. 1040–1041.

[1] *Hardecnutus . . . amisit.*] Hardacnut died on the 8th June, A.D. 1042.

[2] *Episcopum.*] *A. D. E. L.*; archiepiscopum, *S. C.*—Aelfric did not hold the two sees of York and Worcester as his predecessor had done.

[3] *In cœmiterio Danorum Londoniæ.*] St. Clement Danes.—'Brevi autem post a quodam piscatore ad Danos allatum est, et in cimiterio quod habuerunt Lundoniæ sepultum est apud sanctum Clementem.' (Rad. de Diceto, Abbr. Chron.)

[4] *Viginti.*] *A. D. E. L.*; triginta, *C.*—In the year 1040 a tribute for sixty-two ships, at the rate of eight marks for each steersman, was imposed. (Sax. Chron.) Florence of Worcester states that 'octo marcas unicuique suæ classis remigi, et duodecim unicuique gubernatori, de tota Anglia præcepit [rex] dependi.' And in the following year a tribute was paid to the army of 21,099*l.*; and afterwards 11,048*l.* to thirty-two ships. (Sax. Chron.)

famæ, et amori suo detrimentum, ingessit. Sane ne silentio premam quod de primogenito Ethelredi Elfredo rumigeruli spargunt. Ille [1]inter mortem Haroldi et expectationem Hardecnuti fluctuans, regnum ingressus, compatriotarum perfidia, et maxime Godwini, luminibus orbatus est apud Gillingeham; inde ad Heliense cœnobium directus, miseram vitam pauco tempore pane cibario sustentavit; omnibus comitibus præter decimos decapitatis, nam sors decimum quemque morti exemerat. Hæc, quia fama serit, non omisi; sed, [2]quia chronica tacet, pro solido non [3]asserui. Hac de causa Hardecnutus, Livingo Cridietunensi episcopo, quem fama facti auctorem asserebat, infensus, illum episcopatu expulit, sed post annum pecunia serenatus restituit. Godwinum quoque obliquis oculis intuitus, ad sacramentum purgationis compulit. Apposuit ille fidei juratæ xenium, ut gratiam plenam redimeret, locupletissimum sane et pulcherrimum, ratem auro rostratam, habentem octoginta milites qui haberent in brachiis singulis armillas duas, unamquamque sedecim unciarum auri, in capitibus cassides deauratas, securim Danicam in humero sinistro, hastile ferreum dextra manu gestantes; et, ne singula enumerem, armis omnibus instructos, in quibus fulgor cum terrore certans sub auro ferrum occuleret. Cæterum, ut dicere cœperam, Hardecnutus Gunhildam sororem suam, Cnutonis ex Emma [4]filiam, spectatissimæ speciei puel-

Death of Aelfred, son of Aethelred, A.D. 1036.

Gunhilda, daughter of Cnut, married to the emperor Henry III.

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[1] *Inter mortem Haroldi.*] According to Florence, Aelfred died A.D. 1036, consequently prior to the death of Harold. We should probably read 'Cnutonis' for 'Haroldi.'

[2] *Quia chronica tacet.*] The printed Saxon Chronicle has no mention of this transaction, but there are two manuscripts which relate it. See MSS. Cott. Tib. B. I. and IV.

[3] *Asserui.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; affirmo, *C.*

[4] *Filiam.*] *A. S. E. L.*; omitted in *C. D.*

lam, a multis procis tempore patris suspiratam, nec impetratam, [1]Henrico imperatori Alemannorum nuptum misit. Celebris illa pompa nuptialis fuit, et nostro adhuc seculo etiam in triviis cantitata, dum tanti nominis virgo ad navem duceretur; stipantibus omnibus Angliæ proceribus, et in expensas conferentibus quicquid absconderat vel marsupium publicum vel ærarium regium. Ita ad [2]sponsum perveniens, multo tempore fœdus conjugale fovit: postremo, adulterii accusata, puerulum quendam [3]sturni sui alumnum, quem secum ex Anglia duxerat, delatori, [4]giganteæ molis homini, ad monomachiam [5]apposuit, cæteris clientibus inerti timore refugientibus. Itaque, conserto duello, per miraculum Dei insimulator succiso poplite enervatur. Gunnildis, insperato triumpho tripudians, viro repudium dedit; nec ultra minis aut delinimentis adduci potuit ut thalamo illius consentiret, sed, velum sanctimonialium [6]suscipiens, in Dei servitio placido consenuit otio.

DE HENRICO IMPERATORE.

Account of the emperor Henry III.

§ 189. Erat imperator multis et magnis virtutibus præditus, et omnium pene ante se bellicosissimus, quippe qui etiam Vindelicos et Leuticios subegerit, cæterosque populos Suevis conterminos, qui usque ad hanc diem soli omnium mortalium paganas superstitiones anhelant; nam Saraceni et Turchi Deum Creatorem co-

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[1] *Henrico imperatori Alemannorum.*] Henry III, son of Conrad II.

[2] *Sponsum.*] *A. S. L.*; sponsam, *C. D. E.*

[3] *Sturni.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; fratris, *S.*

[4] *Giganteæ molis homini.*] His name was Rodingar, and the youth opposed to him is said to have been a dwarf named Micon. (Chron. Joh. Bromton.)

[5] *Apposuit.*] *A. C. D. E.*; opposuit, *S. L.*

[6] *Suscipiens.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; accipiens, *S.*

lunt, Mahumet non Deum, sed [1]ejus prophetam æstimantes. Vindelici vero Fortunam adorant; cujus idolum loco nominatissimo ponentes, cornu dextræ illius [2]componunt plenum potu illo [3]quem Græco vocabulo, ex aqua et melle, Hydromellum vocamus. Idem sanctus Hieronymus Ægyptios et omnes pene Orientales fecisse, in decimo octavo super Isaiam libro confirmat. Unde ultimo die Novembris mensis, in circuitu sedentes, in commune prægustant; et si cornu plenum invenerint, magno strepitu [4]applaudunt, quod eis futuro anno pleno copia cornu responsura sit in omnibus; si contra, gemunt. Hos ergo ita Henricus tributarios effecerat, ut, omnibus solemnitatibus quibus [5]coronabatur, reges eorum quatuor, lebetem quo carnes condiebantur, in humeris suis, per annulos quatuor vectibus ad coquinam vectitarent.

DE SORORE IMPERATORIS, ET CLERICO ILLAM DILIGENTE.

§ 190. Præterea crebro tumultibus regni expeditus, cum se communioni et hilaritati dedisset, joci plenus, ut sat erit duobus probare exemplis. Sororem sanctimonialem unice diligebat, ut suo eam lateri deesse non pateretur, sed semper triclinium ejus suo conjungeret. Dum igitur quadam hyeme, quæ nivibus et pruinis aspera inhorruerat, uno diu loco detineretur, clericus quidam curialis, familiarior justo puellæ effectus, crebro nocturnas in cubiculo ejus protelabat vigilias; et quamlibet multimodis tergiversatio- Anecdote of the emperor.

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[1] *Ejus.*] *E.*; Dei, *A.S.C.D.L.*

[2] *Componunt.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; imponunt, *S.*

[3] *Quem.*] *A. S.*; quod, *C. D. E. L.*

[4] *Applaudunt.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; plaudentes, *C.*

[5] *Coronabatur.*] *A. D. E. L.*; coronabantur, *S.*

nibus nequitiam palliaret, advertit illud aliquis (quod difficile sit crimen non prodere vultu vel gestu); et jam vulgo rem ventilante, solus nesciebat imperator, et sororem suam pudicam credere audebat. Sed cum quadam nocte cupitis fruerentur amplexibus, et diutius se voluptas protenderet, illuxit mane, et ecce omnem terram nix operuerat; tum clericus, qui se deprehendendum per vestigia in nive timeret, persuadet amicæ suæ ut dorso ejus impositus angustias illas evaderet. Illa, [1]non refutans impudentiam dummodo vitaret verecundiam, levat tergo amasium et extra curiam effert. Et forte tum imperator minctum surrexerat, et per fenestram cœnaculi [2]despiciens videt clericum equitantem: primo quidem visu hebetatus, sed, re diligentius explorata, pudore et indignatione obmutuit. Interea hæsitanti utrum peccatum impunitum dimitteret, vel peccantes honeste redargueret, obvenit occasio ut episcopatum vacantem daret clerico; hæc verba auribus insusurrans, 'Accipe,' inquit, 'episcopatum, et vide ne ulterius inequites mulierem.' Item dans abbatiam sanctimonialium [3]germanæ, 'Esto,' ait, 'abbatissa, nec ultra patiaris clericum [4]equitem.' Confusi illi, qui tam gravi dicto se sentirent lapidatos, desiverunt a flagitio quod divinitus inspiratum putabant Domino.

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[1] *Non.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[2] *Despiciens.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; respiciens, *D.*

[3] *Germanæ.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; sorori, *C.*

[4] *Equitem.*] *C. D. E.*; equitantem, *A. S. L.*—A story nearly similar to the above has been told of the celebrated Eginhardt and the daughter of Charlemagne. See Du Chesne, Script. Franc. tom. II. (Sharpe, 241.)

DE CLERICO NOLENTE LEGERE EVANGELIUM PRO IMPERATORE.

§ 191. Item habebat clericum in curia, qui et literarum peritiam et vocis elegantiam vitio corporis deformabat, quod meretriculam villæ dementer ardebat; cum qua nocte quadam solenni volutatus, mane ad missam imperatoris aperta fronte astabat. Dissimulata scientia, mandat ei Cæsar ut se paret ad evangelium, quod ejus melodia delectaretur; erat enim diaconus. Ille, pro peccati conscientia, multis præstigiis subterfugere; imperator contra nunciis urgere, ut probaret constantiam: ad extremum prorsus abnuenti, 'Quia,' inquit, 'non vis mihi parere in tam facili obsequio, ego te extorrem totius terræ meæ [1]esse præcipio.' Clericus amplexus sententiam abscessit continuo; missi pedissequi qui eum persequerentur, ut, si perseverandum putaret, jam urbem egressum revocarent. Ita incunctanter compilatis omnibus suis et in sarcinulas compositis, jam profectum, magnaque violentia retractum, Henrici præsentiæ sistunt; qui lætum subridens, 'Probe,' ait, 'fecisti, et gratulor probitati tuæ, quod pluripenderis Dei timorem quam patriam, respectum cœlestis iræ quam meas minas; quapropter habeto episcopatum qui primus in imperio meo vacaverit, tantum indecenti amori renuncies.' Another anecdote.

§ 192. At, quia nihil constans est in humanis gaudiis, quoddam triste portentum tempore ejus accidit, quod non tacebo. Fuldense cœnobium est in Saxonia, [2]sancti Galli corpore insigne, et A legend.

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[1] *Esse.*] *C. E.*; omitted in *A. S. D. L.*

[2] *Sancti Galli.*] S. Gal. Irlandois, disciple de S. Colomban, le suivit en France. Son rare mérite le fit choisi pour être évesque de Constance: mais il fit élire en sa place Jean son disciple. Il fonda, l'an 615, un monastère célèbre en Suisse, qui porte son nom, et mourut l'an 640, agé de 95 ans. (Moreri.)

prædiis ditatum permagnificis. Ejus loci abbas sexaginta millia bellatorum imperatori præbet in hostem, habetque ex antiquo privilegium ut in præcellentibus festivitatibus ad dextram ejus consideat. Hic ergo Henricus Pentecosten apud [1]Mogontiam celebrabat. Paulo ante missam, cum sedilia pararentur in ecclesia, inter cubicularios archiepiscopi et abbatis jurgium agitatum utrorum dominus juxta Cæsarem sederet; illis prærogativam antistitis, istis priscum [2]morem referentibus. Ubi verbis parum ad concordiam proceditur, (ut habent Germani, idemque Teutones, indomitum animum,) ad pugnam ventum: itaque pars sudes arripere, pars saxa jacere, pars enses evaginare, postremo quicquid primum ira invenisset, eo pro armis uti; ita furore per ecclesiam grassante, pavimentum sanguine inundavit. Sed statim episcopis convolantibus pace inter reliquias dissidentium statuta, templum purgatum, missa festivis clamoribus acta. Cum vero, mira subjiciam, sequentia [3]cantitata, et versu, 'Hunc diem gloriosum fecisti,' chori conticuissent, vox ab aere lapsa late insonuit, 'Hunc diem bellicosum ego feci.' Rigentibus cæteris, imperator diligentius intendens muneri, lætitiamque intelligens inimici, 'Tu,' inquit, 'omnis malitiæ inventor simul et incentor, diem bellicosum et arrogantibus luctuosum fecisti; sed nos per Dei gratiam, qui illum gloriosum fecit, pauperibus gratiosum reddemus.' Et mox, reincepta sequentia, solemni ploratu Sancti Spiritus gratiam invitabat; intelligeres illum adventasse, illis cantantibus, istis lachrymantibus, omnibus pectora

[1] *Mogontiam.*] *S. L.*; Mogontium, *A. C. D. E.*

[2] *Morem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; nomen, *C.*

[3] *Cantitata.*] *E.*; cantata, *A. S. C. D. L.*

tundentibus. Finita missa, egenis per præcones conclamatis, omnes dapes quæ sibi et curialibus parabantur in usus eorum exhausit; ipse obsonia apponens, ipse juxta disciplinam ministrorum de longe consistens, ipse superflua ciborum abstergens.

§ 193. Tempore Conradi patris a quodam clerico fistulam tulerat argenteam qua pueri ludo aquam jaculantur, pactus episcopatum cum foret imperator. Adultus repetenti pollicitum impigre dederat; nec multo post, aspera valetudine correptus, decubuit. Morbo crescente, triduo [1]exsensus et mutus jacuit, cum in solo pectore vitalis halitus palpitaret; nec aliud vitæ indicium erat quam quod, manu ad nares apposita, quantuluscunque sentiebatur anhelitus. Episcopi præsentes, triduano indicto jejunio, lachrymis et votis pro vita regis superos pulsabant; quibus, ut credi fas est, remediis convalescens, accitum episcopum quem injuste fecerat, sententia concilii deposuit: professus se toto triduo dæmones infestos vidisse flammam in se per fistulam jaculantes, flammam adeo pertinacem ut noster ignis, in comparatione illius, jocus putetur et nihil calere. Juvenem inter hæc semiustulatum adventasse, ferentem immensæ magnitudinis calicem aureum aqua plenum; cujus visione et laticis aspergine delinitum, extinctis ardoribus, in sanitatem evasisse. Ephœbum illum beatum fuisse Laurentium, cujus ecclesiæ tectum longa carie dissolutum compaginarit, et præter alia xenia calice aureo honorificarit. A legend.

§ 194. Occurrunt hoc loco quæ de illo viro feruntur magna miracula, ut de cerva quæ illum, inimicos fugitantem, ultra invadabilem fluvium

[1] *Exsensus.*] *S.*; all the MSS. read 'exsensis.'

dorso evexerit, et quibusdam aliis, quibus ideo supersedeo quia æstimationem lectoris supergredi nolo. [1]Obiit octavo decimo anno imperii emenso, et apud Spiram conditus est, quam ipse ex antiquissima et diruta Nemeto ita nominatam novavit. Epitaphium ejus hoc est:

Death of the emperor, A.D. 1056.

His epitaph.

'Cæsar, tantus eras quantus et orbis,
At nunc in modico clauderis antro.
Post hæc quisque sciat [2]se ruiturum,
Et quod nulla mori gloria tollat.
Florens imperii gloria quondam,
Desolata suo Cæsare marcet;
Hanc, ultra, speciem non habitura
Quam tecum moriens occuluisti.
Leges a senibus patribus auctas,
Quas lassata diu raserat ætas,
Omnes ut fuerant ipse reformans,
Romanis studuit reddere causis.
Tu, longinqua satis regna, locosque
Quos nullus potuit flectere, Cæsar,
Romanis onerans viribus artus,
Ad civile decus excoluisti.
O quanto premitur Roma dolore,
Desolata prius morte Leonis:
Nunc, Auguste, tuo funere languens,
Bino se viduam lumine plangit.
Quæ te non timuit patria vivum?
Vel quæ non doluit, Cæsar, obisse?
Nam sic lætus eras jam superatis,
Et sic indomitis gentibus asper;

[1] *Obiit octavo decimo anno imperii.*] Henry died at Botfeld, on the confines of Saxe and Thuringe, in the eighteenth year of his reign, but in the fifteenth of his empire, on the 7th of October, A.D. 1056, and was interred at Spire.

[2] *Se ruiturum.*] *A. S. C* 2. *D. E. L.*; se moriturum, *C.*

Ut, quæ non timuit, jure doleret,
Et, quæ non doluit, jure timeret.
Luge, Roma, tuum nomen in umbris;
Et defecta duo [1] lumina luge.'

§ 195. Sane [2] iste Leo, de quo epitaphium loquitur, fuerat Romæ apostolicus, ex Brunone [3] Spirensi episcopo ita vocatus et provectus; magnæ et mirabilis sanctitatis, cujus Romani multa miracula per orbem serunt. Obierat ante [4] Henricum, post [5] quinque annos apostolatus.

DE SANCTO EADWARDO TERTIO, REGE ET CONFESSORE.

§ 196. [6] Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo quadragesimo secundo, [7] Edwardus filius Ethelredi suscepit regnum, mansitque in eo annis viginti quatuor non plenis; vir propter morum simplicitatem parum imperio idoneus, sed Deo devotus, ideoque ab eo [8] directus. Denique eo regnante nullus tumultus domesticus qui non cito comprimeretur, nullum bellum forinsecus; omnia domi forisque quieta, omnia tranquilla: quod eo magis stupendum, quia ita se mansuete ageret ut nec viles homunculos verbo lædere

Eadward the Confessor, A.D. 1042.

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[1] *Lumina.*] *A. E.*; numina, *S. C. D. L.*

[2] *Iste Leo.*] Bruno bishop of Toul was chosen pope, as Leo IX, at the close of the year 1048, by the prelates and nobles assembled at Mayence by command of the emperor Henry III. He was enthroned at Rome on the 13th of February following; and died on the 19th of April 1054.

[3] *Spirensi episcopo.*] The more correct reading would seem to be 'Tullensi episcopo.'

[4] *Henricum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Henricum imperatorem, *S.*

[5] *Quinque.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; quindecim, *C.*—Leo IX. presided five years and a few weeks.

[6] *Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo quadragesimo secundo, Edwardus filius Ethelredi suscepit regnum.*] Hardacnut died in 1042, and Eadward was elected king in the summer of that year; but he was not crowned until Easter-day (April 3) in the following year.

[7] *Edwardus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; sanctus Edwardus, *S.*

[8] *Directus.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; dilectus, *A.*

nosset. Nam dum quadam vice venatum isset, et agrestis quidam stabulata illa quibus in casses cervi urgentur confudisset, ille sua nobili percitus ira, 'Per Deum,' inquit, 'et matrem ejus, tantundem tibi nocebo si potero.' Egregius animus, qui se regem in talibus non meminisset, nec abjectæ conditionis homini se posse nocere putaret. Erat interea ejus apud domesticos reverentia vehemens, apud exteros metus ingens; fovebat profecto ejus simplicitatem Deus, ut posset timeri qui nesciret irasci. Sed, quamvis [1] vel deses vel simplex putaretur, habebat comites qui eum ex humili in altum conan-
A.D. 1054. tem erigerent. [2] Siwardum Northimbrensium, qui, jussu ejus cum Scotorum rege Macbetha congressus, vita regnoque spoliavit; ibidemque [3] Malcolmum, filium regis Cumbrorum, regem instituit. Lefricum Herefordensium, qui eum contra simultates [4] Godwini favore magnifico tutabatur, quod ille fidente conscientia meritorum minus regem revereretur. Leofricus cum conjuge Godiva, in Dei rebus munificus, monasteria multa constituit; Coventreiæ, sanctæ Mariæ Stoue, Wenelok, Leonense, et nonnulla alia: cæteris ornamenta et prædia, Coventreiæ corpus suum cum maximo apparatu auri et argenti delegavit. [5] Haroldum West-Saxonum filium Godwini, qui duos fratres reges Walensium, Ris et Griffinum, solertia sua in mortem egerit, om-

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[1] *Vel deses.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Siwardum ... spoliavit.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that on the day of the Seven Sleepers (27th July), A.D. 1054, Earl Siward went with a large army against Scotland, and, engaging with the Scots, he put Macbeoth to flight.

[3] *Malcolmum.*] Malcolm III. See note [5], p. 303, and Sax. Chron. A.D. 1067.

[4] *Godwini.*] For an account of Godwin's rebellion, &c. see Sax. Chron. A.D. 1051, 1052.

[5] *Haroldum.*] Afterwards king of England.

nemque illam barbariem ad statum provinciæ sub regis fide [1] redegerit. Fuerunt tamen nonnulla quæ gloriam temporum deturparent: monasteria tunc monachis viduata; prava judicia a perversis hominibus commissa; supellex matris ejus, præcipiente illo, penitus abrasa. Sed harum rerum invidiam amatores ipsius ita extenuare conantur: monasteriorum destructio, perversitas judiciorum, non ejus scientia, sed per Godwini filiorumque ejus sunt commissa violentiam, qui regis ridebant indulgentiam; postea tamen ad eum delata, acriter [2] illorum exilio vindicata. Mater A.D. 1051.

'Angustos filii jamdudum riserat annos,'

nihil unquam de suo largita, hæreditario scilicet odio parentis in prolem; nam magis Cnutonem et amaverat vivum, et laudabat defunctum. Præterea, congestis undecunque talentis crumenas infecerat, pauperum oblita; quibus non patiebatur dari nummum ne diminueret numerum. Itaque quod injuste coacervarat non [3] inhoneste ablatum; ut egenorum proficeret compendio, et fisco sufficeret regio. Hæc referentibus etsi plurimum fides [4] haberi debeat, [5] sanctam tamen mulierem fuisse comperio, et thesauros suos in ornamenta ecclesiæ Wintoniæ et aliarum fortassis expendisse. Sed ut ad superiora

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[1] *Redegerit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; subegerit, *C.*

[2] *Illorum exilio.*] Earl Godwin and his sons were exiled in the year 1051: the earl, with his wife and three children, Sweyn, Tostig, and Gyrth, went to Bruges and sought the protection of Earl Baldwin; Harold and Leofwine retired to Ireland. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 1051.) See also Malmesb. De Gestis Pontif. lib. I. p. 116, ed. Lond.

[3] *Inhoneste.*] *A. C 2. D. E. L.*; injuste, *S. C 1.*

[4] *Haberi.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; adhiberi, *S.*

[5] *Sanctam tamen mulierem fuisse comperio, et thesauros suos in ornamenta ecclesiæ Wintoniæ et aliarum fortassis expendisse.*] See § 181, p. 307.

Eadward consults Earl Godwin,

redeam. Hardecnuto mortuo, Edwardus, tam tristi nuncio accepto, incertumque fluctuans quid ageret, quo se verteret nesciebat. Multa volventi potior sententia visa ut Godwini consilio fortunas suas trutinaret. Conventus ille per legatarios ut pace præfata colloquerentur, diu hæsitabundus et cogitans tandem [1]annuit; venientem ad se, et conantem ad genua procumbere, allevat; Hardecnuti mortem [2]exponentem, orantemque in Normanniam reditus auxilium ingentibus promissis [3]honorat. Melius esse ut vivat gloriosus in imperio, quam ignominiosus moriatur in exilio. Illum Ethelredi filium, Edgari nepotem; jure ei competere regnum [4]ævi maturo, laboribus defæcato, scienti administrare principatum per ætatem severe, miserias provincialium pro pristina egestate temperare. Id quo minus fiat nihil obstare, si sibi credendum putet, suam auctoritatem plurimum in Anglia ponderari: quo se pronior inclinaverit, eo fortunam vergere; si auxilietur, neminem ausurum obstrepere, et e converso. Paciscatur ergo sibi amicitiam solidam, filiis honores integros, filiæ matrimonium: brevi futurum ut se regem videat, qui nunc vitæ naufragus, exul spei, alterius opem implorat.

and relies on him.

§ 197. Nihil erat quod Edwardus pro necessitate temporis non polliceretur; ita utrinque fide data, quicquid petebatur sacramento firmavit. Nec mora, [5]Gillingeham congregato concilio, rationibus suis explicitis, regem effecit, hominio palam omnibus dato: homo affectati leporis, et ingenue gentilitia lingua eloquens, mirus dicere,

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[1] *Annuit.*] *C. D. E.*; non abnuit, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Exponentem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; pronunciantem, *C.*

[3] *Honorat.*] *A. D. E. L.*; onerat, *S. C.*

[4] *Ævi.*] *C. D. E.*; ævo, *A.S.L.*

[5] *Gillingeham.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; Lundoniam, *C.*

mirus populo persuadere quæ placerent. Quidam auctoritatem ejus secuti, quidam muneribus flexi, quidam etiam debitum Edwardi amplexi; pauci qui præter æquum et bonum restitere, [1]et tunc censorie notati, et postmodum ab Anglia expulsi. Edwardus die solenni Paschæ magna pompa apud [2]Wintoniam coronatus; et ab [3]Edsio archiepiscopo sacra regnandi præcepta edoctus, quæ ille tunc memoria libenter recondidit, et postea sancte factis propalavit. Idem Edsius, posteriori anno in incurabilem morbum incidens, [4]successorem sibi abbatem Abbandoniæ Siwardum statuit; ante cum rege tantum et comite communicato consilio, ne quis ad tantum fastigium aspiraret indignus, [5]vel prece vel pretio. Non multo post, [6]Edgitham filiam Godwini rex in connubium accepit; fœminam in cujus

Is crowned, A.D. 1043.

A.D. 1044.

Marries Eadgithe, A.D. 1045.

[1] *Et.*] *A.S.C.D.E* 2.*L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Wintoniam.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; Lundoniam, *C.*—Londoniæ levatur in regem. (A.D. 1042.) Ungitur in regem Wintoniæ. (A.D. 1043.) (Flor. Wigorn.)

[3] *Edsio . . . edoctus.*] Eadsige was translated from Winchester to Canterbury in 1038. The Saxon Chronicle states that he consecrated King Eadward at Winchester on Easter-day, and before all people well admonished him.

[4] *Successorem sibi abbatem Abbandoniæ Siwardum statuit ... pretio.*] 'This year (1044) Archbishop Eadsige resigned his see from infirmity, and consecrated Siward, abbot of Abingdon, bishop thereto, with the permission and advice of the king and Earl Godwin. It was known to few men else before it was done, because the archbishop feared that some other man would either beg or buy it.' (Sax. Chron.) See also Malmes. De Gestis Pont. lib. I. p. 116. It would seem, however, from Florence, and other authorities, that Siward was nothing more than the assistant of Archbishop Eadsige. 'Decessit quoque Siwardus, Eadsii Dorobernensis archiepiscopi corepiscopus.' (Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 1049.) Again, A.D. 1050, 'Eadsius Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit, cui Robertus Lundonensis episcopus, genere Normannorum, successit.' (Flor. Wigorn.)

[5] *Vel prece vel pretio.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C* 1.; inserted in the margin of *C* 2.

[6] *Edgitham filiam Godwini rex in connubium accepit.*] 'In the same year (1045) King Eadward took to wife Eadgithe, daughter of Earl Godwin, ten days before Candlemas.' (23rd Jan.) (Sax. Chron.)

pectore omnium liberalium artium esset gymnasium, sed parvum in mundanis rebus ingenium; quam cum videres, [1] si literas stuperes, modestiam certe animi et speciem corporis desiderares. Hæc, et vivo marito et mortuo, probri suspicione non caruit; sed, [2] moriens tempore [3] Willelmi, jurejurando astantibus de perpetua integritate ultro satisfecit. Nuptam sibi rex hac arte tractabat, ut nec thoro amoveret, nec virili more cognosceret: quod an [4] familiæ illius odio, quod prudenter dissimulabat pro tempore, an amore castitatis fecerit, pro certo compertum non habeo. Illud celeberrime fertur, nunquam illum cujusquam mulieris contubernio pudicitiam læsisse.

Statements of Saxon and Norman historians at variance.

Sed quia ad id locorum ventum est, lectorem præmonitum volo quod hic quasi ancipitem viam narrationis video, quia veritas factorum pendet in dubio. Siquidem aliquantos Normannos rex accersierat, qui olim inopiam exulis pauculis beneficiis levarant; inter quos [5] Robertum, quem ex monacho Gemmeticensi episcopum Londoniæ,

A.D. 1051. et post archiepiscopum Cantuariæ, statuerat.

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[1] *Si literas stuperes.*] Ingulphus, alluding to Eadgithe, writes: 'Puella pulcherrima, literis apprime erudita;' and 'Vidi ego illam multotiens, cum patrem meum in regis curia morantem adhuc puer inviserem, et sæpius mihi de scholis venienti de literis ac versu meo apponebat, cum occurrerem; et libentissime de grammatica soliditate ad logicam levitatem, qua callebat, declinans, cum argumentorum subtili ligamine me conclusisset, semper tribus aut quatuor nummis per ancillulam numeratis, ad regium penu transmisit, et refectum dimisit.'

[2] *Moriens.*] Eadgithe died at Winchester seven days before Christmas (Dec. 19), in the year 1075; and was buried with great pomp in the same grave as her husband, at Westminster, by command of William the Conqueror.

[3] *Willelmi.*] *C. D. E.*; regis Willelmi, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Familiæ.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; facile, *C.*

[5] *Robertum, quem ex monacho Gemmeticensi episcopum Londoniæ, et post archiepiscopum Cantuariæ, statuerat.*] Robert was made archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1051 (Sax. Chron.) and expelled in the following year.

Hunc, cum reliquis, Angli moderni vituperant delatorem Godwini et filiorum ejus, hunc discordiæ seminatorem, hunc archiepiscopii emptorem: Godwinum et natos magnanimos viros, et industrios auctores et tutores regni Edwardi, non mirum si succensuerint quod novos homines et advenas sibi præferri viderent; nunquam tamen contra regem, quem semel fastigaverint, asperum etiam verbum locutos. Contra, Normanni sic se defensitant, ut dicant et eum et filios magna arrogantia et infidelitate in regem et [1]in familiares ejus egisse, æquas sibi partes in imperio vendicantes; sæpe de ejus simplicitate solitos nugari, sæpe insignes facetias in illum jaculari: id Normannos [2]perpeti nequivisse, quin illorum potentiam quantum possent enervarent. Denique Deum monstrasse quam sancto animo Godwinus servierit; nam cum post piraticas rapinas, unde dicemus inferius, priori gratiæ redditus esset, et in convivio cum rege discumberet, orto sermone de [3]Elfredo regis fratre, 'Tu,' inquit, '[4]rex, ad omnem memoriam germani, rugato me vultu video quod aspicias; sed non patiatur Deus ut istam offam transglutiam, si [5]fui conscius alicujus rei quæ spectaret ad ejus periculum vel tuum incommodum.' Hoc dicto, offa quam in os miserat suffocatus, [6]oculos ad

Death of Godwin, A.D. 1053.

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[1] *In.*] *A. S. C. L.*; omitted in *D. E.*

[2] *Perpeti.*] *A. D. E. L.*; pati, *S. C.*

[3] *Elfredo regis fratre.*] See § 188, p. 321.

[4] *Rex.*] *A. D. E. L.*; O rex, *S. C.*

[5] *Fui.*] *A. S. D. E. L*,; sim, *C.*

[6] *Oculos ad mortem invertit.*] The Saxon Chronicle gives a different version of the death of Earl Godwin. 'In this year (1053) the king was at Winchester, at Easter (11th April), and Earl Godwin with him, and Earl Harold his son, and Tostig. On the day after Easter he sat with the king at table, when he suddenly sank beneath against the foot-rail, deprived of speech and of all his strength. He was brought into the king's chamber, in the expectation of

mortem invertit. Inde ab ipso filio ejus Haroldo, qui regi astabat, sub mensa extractus, in episcopatu Wintoniæ sepultus est.

Saxons and Normans compared.

§ 198. Propter istas, ut dixi, altercationes periclitatur oratio, dum quod ex asse verum definiam non habeo, vel propter naturale utrarumque gentium dissidium, vel quia ita res se habet quod Angli aspernanter ferant superiorem, Normanni nequeant pati parem. Sed de moribus eorum in sequenti libro pergam dicere, cum de adventu Normannorum in Angliam occasio se obtulerit. Nunc, [1] quanta veritate potuero, perstringam de simultate regis in Godwinum et filios ejus.

Origin of Eadward's quarrel with Godwin.

§ 199. [2] Eustachius erat comes Bononiæ, pater Godefridi et Baldewini qui nostro tempore reges [3] apud Ierosolymam fuerunt: habebatque sororem regis Godam legitimis nuptiis desponsatam, quæ ex altero viro, Waltero Medantino, filium tulerat [4] Radulfum, qui eo tempore erat comes Herefordensis, ignavus et timidus, qui Walensibus pugna cesserit, comitatumque suum,

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his recovering; but it was not so. He continued thus speechless and helpless till the Thursday, when he resigned his life, on the 17th before the calends of May (April 15); and he is buried at Winchester in the old minster.' See also Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1053.

[1] *Quanta veritate potuero, perstringam.*] See the Saxon Chronicle, An. 1052 (1050-1.)

[2] *Eustachius erat comes Bononiæ, pater Godefridi et Baldewini qui nostro tempore reges apud Ierosolymam fuerunt.*] Eustace II, surnamed Aux Grenons. He succeeded his father, Eustace I, in 1049; and married, in 1050, Goda, daughter of King Aethelberht, and widow of Gauthier comte de Mantes, by whom he had no issue: but by his wife Ida he left three sons; Eustace, who succeeded him; Godefroi, created in 1076 marquis d'Anvers by the emperor Henry IV, and afterwards duc de Bouillon, was elected king of Jerusalem in 1099 (23rd July), and, dying 18th July 1100, was succeeded by his brother Baudouin, comte d'Edesse.

[3] *Apud Ierosolymam.*] *C.D.E.*; Ierosolymorum, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Radulfum.*] See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1051.—Ralph earl of Hereford died 21st Dec. 1057. (Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.)

et urbem cum episcopo, ignibus eorum consumendum reliquerit; cujus rei infamiam, mature veniens Haroldus virtutibus suis abstersit. Eustachius ergo, transfretato mari de Witsand in Doveram, regem Edwardum, nescio qua de causa, adiit. Collocutus cum eo, et re impetrata quam petierat, [1]per Doroberniam redibat: unus antecursorum ejus ferocius cum cive agens, et vulnere magis quam [2]prece hospitium exigens, illum in sui [3]excidium invitavit. Quo cognito, Eustachius, ad ulciscendam necem servi cum toto comitatu profectus, homicidam quidem cum aliis decem et octo interemit: sed, civibus ad arma convolantibus, viginti ex suis amisit, innumeris vulneratis; ipse vix cum altero in ipso tumultu subterfugit. Inde ad curiam pedem referens, nactusque secretum suæ partis patronus assistens, iram regis in Anglos exacuit. Godwinus per nuncios ad curiam accitus venit. Exposita causa, et præcipue rege insolentiam Dorobernensium accumulante, intellexit vir acrioris ingenii, unius tantum partis auditis allegationibus, non debere proferri sententiam. Itaque quamvis rex jussisset illum continuo cum exercitu in Cantiam proficisci, in Dorobernenses graviter ulturum, restitit; et quod omnes alienigenas apud regis gratiam invalescere invideret, et quod compatriotis amicitiam præstare vellet. Præterea videbatur ejus responsio in rectitudinem propen-

Fray between Eustace and the men of Dover.

Godwin summoned before the king.

[1] *Per Doroberniam redibat.*] Malmesbury seems to have taken his account of the fray between the men of Eustace earl of Boulogne and the townsmen of Dover from the Saxon Chronicle, which states that the earl and his men, having taken their repast at Canterbury, proceeded to Dover, where they had resolved to quarter themselves: there this transaction took place, and not at Canterbury, as Malmesbury implies.

[2] *Prece.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; prece aut pretio, *S.*

[3] *Excidium.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; exitium, *C.*

sior, ut magnates illius castelli blande in curia regis de seditione convenirentur: si se possent explacitare, illæsi abirent; si nequirent, pecunia vel corporum suorum dispendio, regi cujus pacem infregerant, et comiti quem læserant, satisfacerent: iniquum videri ut quos tutari debeas, eos ipse [1]potissimum inauditos adjudices. Ita tunc discessum, Godwino parvi pendente regis furorem quasi momentaneum. Quocirca totius regni proceres jussi Gloecestram convenire, ut ibi magno conventu res ventilaretur. Venerunt [2]eo etiam Northanhimbri comites tunc famosissimi, Sywardus et Leofricus, omnisque Anglorum nobilitas. Soli Godwinus ejusque filii, qui se suspectos scirent, sine præsidio armorum veniendum non arbitrati, cum manu valida Beverstane restiterunt; famam serentes in vulgus, quod ideo exercitum adunassent ut Walenses compescerent, qui, tyrannidem in regem meditantes, oppidum in pago Herefordensi obfirmaverant, ubi tunc Swanus, unus ex filiis Godwini, militiæ prætendebat excubias. Sed Walenses jam audientiam prævenerant, et conspirationis accusatos invisos curiæ toti fecerant, adeo ut rumor spargeretur quod in eodem loco regius exercitus eos adoriretur. Quo accepto, Godwinus ad conjuratos classicum cecinit ut ultro domino regi non resisterent; sed, si conventi fuissent, quin se ulciscerentur loco non cederent. Et profecto facinus miserabile et plusquam civile bellum fuisset, nisi maturiora consilia intercessissent. Ita quantulacunque concordia interim inita, iterum præceptum ut Londoniam concilium congregaretur; mandatum Swano filio Godwini ut fuga sua regis iram mi-

[1] *Potissimum.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Eo etiam.*] *S. D. E. L.*; etiam ibi, *C.*; ergo eo etiam, *A.*

tigaret. Godwinus et Haroldus quantocius ad concilium hac conventione venirent inermes, duodecim solum homines adducerent; servitium militum, quos per Angliam habebant, regi contraderent. Contra, illi negare: non posse se ad conventiculum factiosorum sine vadibus et obsidibus pergere; domino suo in militum deditione parituros, tum præterea in omnibus præter gloriæ et salutis periculum. Si veniant inermes, vitæ timeri dispendium; si paucos stipatores habeant, gloriæ fore opprobrium. Obstinatius obfirmarat rex animum ne adquiesceret precibus supplicantium; itaque prolatum edictum ut intra quinque dies Anglia excederent. Godwinus et Swanus Flandriam, Haroldus concessit Hiberniam. Comitatus ejus attributus Elgaro Leofrici filio, viro industrio; quem ille suscipiens tunc rexit nobiliter, reverso restituit libenter. Et postea, Godwino mortuo, cum Haroldus parentis ducatum impetrasset, repetiit audacter, aliquanto tamen tempore inimicorum accusatione [1]exiliatus. Omnis reginæ substantia ad unum nummum emuncta; ipsa regis sorori apud Warewellam in custodiam data, ne scilicet omnibus suis parentibus patriam suspirantibus sola stерteret in pluma. Posteriori anno exulum quisque de loco suo egressi Britanicum mare circumvagari, littora piraticis latrociniis infestare, de cognati populi opibus prædas eximias [2]conjectare. Contra quos, a regis parte, plusquam sexaginta naves in anchoris constiterunt: præfecti classi

Godwin and his sons banished, A.D. 1051.

A.D. 1052.

[1] *Exiliatus.*] Aelfgar was outlawed in 1055, and, joining Griffin prince of Wales, invaded England, and his outlawry was reversed. Upon the death of his father, Earl Leofric, on the 30th Sept. 1057, he succeeded to the earldom of Mercia; and in the following year, 1058, he was banished, but shortly afterwards returned, through the aid of Griffin king of North Wales.

[2] *Conjectare.*] *E.*; convectare, *A. S. C. D. L.*

Odo et Radulfus comites, et regis [1] cognati. Nec segnem sensit regem illa necessitas, quin ipse in navi pernoctaret, et latronum exitus specularetur, sedulo explens consilio quod manu nequibat præ senio. Sed cum cominus ventum esset, et jam pene manus consererentur, nebula densissima repente coorta furentum obtutus confudit, miseramque mortalium audaciam compescuit: denique Godwinus ejusque comites, eo unde venerant, vento cogente reducti. Non multo post, pacifico animo repatriantes, regem apud Londoniam [2] offenderunt: orantes veniam admissi sunt. Senex ille, [3] et lingua potens ad flectendos animos audientium, probe se de omnibus quæ objectabantur expurgavit: tantumque brevi valuit, ut sibi liberisque suis honores integros restitueret; Normannos omnes, ignominiæ notatos, ab Anglia effugaret; prolata sententia in Robertum archiepiscopum ejusque complices quod statum regni conturbarent, animum regium in provinciales agitantes. Verum ille, non expectata violentia, sponte profugerat cum sermo pacis componeretur; Romamque profectus, et de causa sua sedem apostolicam appellans, cum per Gemeticum reverteretur defunctus, ibique sepultus est in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ, quam ipse præcipuo et sumptuoso opere construxerat. Invasit continuo, illo vivente, [4] Stigandus, qui erat episcopus Wintoniæ, archiepiscopatum Cantuari-

Restored to favour.

Account of Stigand.

[1] *Cognati.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; propinqui, *C.*

[2] *Offenderunt.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; invenerunt, *S.*

[3] *Et lingua potens.*] *C. D. E. L.*; et fama clarus et lingua potens, *A.*; *S.* omits 'clarus.'

[4] *Stigandus.*] Stigand was consecrated bishop over the East-Angles in 1046; but he, espousing the cause of the king's mother, was in the same year deprived of his bishoprick: in the following year, however, he was restored to it. Upon the death of Aelfwine bishop of Winchester, in 1047, Stigand succeeded to that see; whence, upon the outlawry of Archbishop Robert, in 1052, he was translated to Canterbury, and received a pall from Pope Benedict X. in 1058.

ensem; infamis ambitus pontifex, et [1]honorum ultra debitum appetitor, qui, spe throni excelsioris episcopatum [2]Saxonum Australium deserens, Wintoniam insederit, illam quoque cum archiepiscopatu tenuerit. Quapropter nunquam ab apostolica sede pallium meruerit, nisi quod [3]Benedictus quidam pervasor apostolatus misit; pecunia scilicet [4]ad concedendum corruptus, vel quod mali gratificantur similibus. Sed ille mox a [5]Nicholao, qui ex episcopo Florentiæ legitime papatum susceperat, expulsus zelo fidelium, indebitum nomen exuit. Stigandus quoque tempore regis [6]Willielmi per cardinales [7]Romanos [8]degradatus, perpetuisque vinculis innodatus, inexplebilis aviditatis nec moriens finem fecit; siquidem, eo mortuo, clavicula in secretis reperta, quæ, seræ cubicularis scrinii apposita, innumerabilium thesaurorum dedit indicium cartas, in quibus notata erat et metallorum qualitas et ponderum quantitas quæ per omnia prædia compilator avarus defoderat. Sed hæc postmodum; nunc de Godwino quod inchoaveram terminabo.

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[1] *Honorum.*] *C. D. E.*; bonorum, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Saxonum Australium.*] We should probably read 'Orientalium Anglorum.'

[3] *Benedictus.*] On the death of Stephen IX, John bishop of Veletri was placed (30th March 1058) in the holy see by a faction, and retained it nine months and twenty days. Although he was only an usurper, his name, as Benedict X, is placed among the sovereign pontiffs.

[4] *Ad concedendum.*] *C. E.*; persuadendum, *A. S. D. L.*

[5] *Nicholao.*] Gerard bishop of Florence was elected on the 28th December 1058, and crowned on the 18th of the month following, by the name of Nicholas II. He died at Florence in July 1061.

[6] *Willielmi.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Willelmi conquestoris, *S.*

[7] *Romanos.*] *A. S. D. E.*; Romæ, *C. L.*

[8] *Degradatus.*] Stigand was degraded at a great council held at Winchester in the octaves of Easter, A.D. 1070, in the presence of the king and three Roman cardinals, for three causes:—for unjustly holding the see of Winchester with his archbishoprick; for wearing the pall of Archbishop Robert, while yet alive, who was unjustly expelled; and for receiving a pall from Benedict the antipope. (Sim. Dunelm.)

Account of Godwin resumed.

§ 200. Habuit primis annis uxorem Cnutonis sororem, ex qua puerum genuerat; qui, primis pueritiæ annis emensis, dum equo quem ab avo acceperat puerili jactantia superbiret, ab eodem in [1]Tamesim portatus, voragine aquæ suffocatus interiit: mater quoque, ictu fulminis exanimata, sævitiæ pœnas solvit; quod dicebatur agmina mancipiorum, in Anglia coempta, Danemarchiam solere mittere, puellas præsertim quas decus et ætas pretiosiores facerent, ut earum deformi commercio cumulos opum aggeraret. [2]Post ejus obitum aliam duxit, cujus genus non comperi; de qua liberos tulit, Haroldum, Swanum, Tostinum, Wulnodum, Girtham, Leofwinum. Haroldus post Edwardum rex aliquot mensibus fuit, et, a Willelmo apud Hastingas victus, vitam et regnum cum fratribus duobus [3]minoribus amisit. Wulnodus a rege Edwardo Normanniam missus, quod eum pater obsidem dederat, ibi toto tempore Edwardi inextricabili captione irretitus; regnante Willelmo in Angliam remissus, in vinculis Salesbiriæ consenuit. Swanus, perversi ingenii et infidi in regem, multotiens a patre et fratre Haroldo descivit; et, pirata factus, prædis marinis virtutes majorum polluit. Postremo pro conscientia [4]Brunonis cognati interempti, et, ut

[1] *Tamesim.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Tamesim fluvium, *S.*

[2] *Post ejus obitum aliam duxit, cujus genus non comperi.*] Earl Godwin's second wife's name was Gytha. (Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.)

[3] *Minoribus.*] *E.*; junioribus, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[4] *Brunonis cognati ... et, ut quidam dicunt, fratris.*] Sweyn, having seduced Eadgiva abbess of Leominster, fled to Denmark; but, being anxious to be pardoned by the king, he requested Earl Beorn, his uncle's son, ('filius avunculi sui, Danici comitis, Ulfi,') to accompany and intercede for him. Beorn yielded to his kinsman's request, and, fearing no treachery, took only three attendants with him. He was, however, no sooner on board than he was put to death by command of Sweyn, and buried in a deep ditch. (Flor. Wigorn. and Sax. Chron.)

quidam dicunt, fratris, Ierosolimam abiit; indeque rediens a Saracenis circumventus, et ad mortem cæsus est. Tostinus a rege Edwardo, post mortem Siwardi, Northanhimbriæ comitatui prælatus, pene decennio [1]provinciæ præfuit: quo exacto, asperitate morum Northanhimbros in rebellionem excitavit. Solitarium enim repertum ex regione fugarunt, pro contuitu ducatus occidendum non arbitrati: homines ejus, et Anglos et Danos, obtruncarunt; equos et arma, et supellectilem omnem corradentes. Rumore ad regem delato, turbataque patria, Haroldus ivit obviam ut propulsaret injuriam. Northanhimbri licet non inferiores numero essent, tamen quieti consulentes, factum apud eum excusant; se homines libere natos, libere educatos, nullius ducis ferociam pati posse, a majoribus didicisse aut libertatem aut mortem. Proinde, si subditos velit, Markerium filium Elgari eis præficiat, [2]re experturum quam dulciter sciant obedire si dulciter tractati fuerint. Hæc Haroldus audiens, qui magis quietem patriæ quam fratris commodum attenderet, revocavit exercitum; et, adito rege, firmum ducatum Marcherio statuit. Tostinus, infensus omnibus, cum uxore et liberis Flandriam abiit, ibique usque ad Edwardi fuit obitum; qui nostris literis differetur interim, dum dixero quod ejus tempore Romæ accidisse a senioribus didicimus.

§ 201. Erat papa [3]Gregorius sextus, ante dictus Gratianus, magnæ religionis et severitatis. Is Account of Pope Gregory VI.

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[1] *Provinciæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E.*—Tosti succeeded to the earldom of Northumberland upon the death of Earl Siward, A.D. 1055, and was outlawed by his thanes in 1065. See Sax. Chron. and Flor. Wigorn.

[2] *Re experturum.*] *A.C.D.E.*; rex expertum, *S.*

[3] *Gregorius sextus.*] *S. C. E. L.*; Gregorius, illius vocabuli sex-

ita Romani apostolatus statum per incuriam antecessorum diminutum invenit, ut præter pauca oppida urbi vicina, et oblationes fidelium, pene nihil haberet quod se sustentaret. Civitates et possessiones in longinquo positæ, quæ ad jus ecclesiæ pertinebant, a prædonibus ablatæ; tramites publici et strata viarum per totam Italiam a latronibus stipabantur, ut nullus peregrinus nisi cum majori manu impune transiret. Fervebant totis semitis insidiatorum examina, nec inveniebat viator quo colludio evaderet: ita in vacuum sicut in pecuniosum furebatur; nec supplex habere gratiam, nec resistens pati poterat violentiam. Cessatum est ab omni provincia Romam iter aggredi, quod mallet quislibet per domesticas ecclesias nummos suos dividere, quam latrunculos propriis laboribus pascere. Quid in urbe unico olim habitaculo sanctitatis? ibi in medio foro vagabantur sicarii, genus hominum infidum et versutum. Si quis semitarum observatores aliquo transisset artificio, capitis scilicet periculo apostoli ecclesiam videre cupiens, in sicarios incidens, nullo modo sine substantiæ vel salutis damno domum reverteretur. Super ipsa sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum corpora, super sacra altaria, gladii nudabantur; oblationes accedentium vix dum appositæ de manibus abripiebantur; abreptæ in commessationes et scortorum abusiones consumebantur. Tantorum malorum turbo Gregorii papatum offendit. Ille primo leniter, et, ut pontificem decet,

tus, *A. D. M.*—Pagi places the commencement of Gregory's papacy in May 1044, but Ughelli cites a charter in which the month of August 1045 is stated to be in the first year of his pontificate. He was deposed at a council held at Sutri on Christmas-day, A.D. 1046, for having obtained the holy see by simony. Mr. Sharpe remarks that Malmesbury's character of this pope is considered as apocryphal. Compare Rodul. Glaber. lib. v. c. 5.

magis amore quam terrore cum subjectis agere; delinquentes plus verbis quam verberibus premere; urbani a peregrinorum infestatione, a rapina sacrorum, cessarent. Alterum esse contra naturam, ut ille qui communi vesceretur aere non communi frueretur pace: Christiano inter Christianos libere, quo liberet, progrediendum; dum omnes sint ex uno famulitio, omnes unius sanguinis conjuncti coagulo, redempti pretio. Alterum contra Dei mandata, qui præceperit ut qui altario deserviunt de altario vivant. Præterea domum Dei decere esse domum orationis, non speluncam latronum, non gladiatorum conventiculum. Permitterent oblationes in usus transire sacerdotum, vel in expensas pauperum. Provisurum se illis quos egestas ad rapinas compelleret, ut aliquo honesto officio stipem haberent; quos cupiditas exagitabat, ipsi sibi, pro Dei timore et seculi honestate, modum ponerent. Invasores ecclesiastici patrimonii mandatis et epistolis invitavit, ut aut indebita redderent, aut se jure illa tenere in senatu Romano probarent. Si neutrum facerent, ecclesiæ membra se non esse cognoscerent, qui capiti ecclesiæ beato Petro, et ejus vicario, resultarent. Talia frequenter concionatus, aut parum aut nihil proficiens, severioribus remediis inveterato morbo tentavit occurrere. Cauterio itaque excommunicationis omnes ab ecclesiæ corpore removit, vel qui talia facerent, vel qui agentibus convivio vel etiam colloquio participarent. Hæc ille pro suo officio satis agebat, sed pene in perniciem versa sedulitas; nam ut ille dicit, 'Qui arguit derisorem, ipse sibi injuriam facit,' maligni illi, levi admonitione perstricti, contra furere, minis auras territare, muros urbis armis circumsonare, adeo ut pene papam interimerent. Ita-

que ferro abscissionis utendum judicans, arma undecunque et equos conquisivit, milites et equites adornavit; ac, primum basilicam beati Petri præoccupans, raptores oblationum vel extinxit vel effugavit. Inde, fortunam sibi aspirare videns, longius progreditur; et, si qui resisterent occisis, prædia omnia et oppida, multis temporibus amissa, in antiquum jus reformavit. Ita pax, per multorum segnitiem exulans, per unum hominem in patriam rediit. Securi peregrini insuetas viarum terebant orbitas, læti per urbem antiquis oculos pascebant miraculis, cantitantes donis factis repatriabant. Quirites interea, rapto vivere assueti, sanguinarium illum vocabant, indignum esse qui Deo offerret sacrificium tot cædium conscius; et, ut fieri solet quod morbus obloquii ab uno serpat in omnes, ipsi etiam cardinales argumenta populi probabant, adeo ut, cum beatus ille valetudine qua defunctus est decumberet, consilio inter se prius habito, ausu temerario admonerent ne se in ecclesia sancti Petri cum cæteris apostolicis tumulari præciperet qui tot hominum mortibus officium fœdasset. Tum ille, recollecto spiritu, torvisque luminibus minax, hanc orationem habuit:

His oration. § 202. 'Si in vobis vel scintilla humanæ rationis vel scientia divinæ auctoritatis esset, tam præcipiti suasione non conveniretis pontificem vestrum; qui, quantum vixi, et patrimonium meum in vestra commoda effudi, et postremo famam mundi pro vestra liberatione neglexi. Et si alii hæc quæ proscinditis attexerent, par erat vos obsistere, opiniones stultorum melioribus interpretationibus lenientes. Cui, quæso, thesaurizavi? forsitan mihi. At thesauros antecessorum meorum habebam qui cujuslibet avaritiæ sufficerent. Quibus salutem, quibus libertatem restitui?

referetis quod mihi. At adorabar a populo, et libere quæ volebam actitabam; applaudebatur mihi totis orationibus, acclamabatur in laudes meas totis diebus. Has laudes, hos plausus abstulit mihi vestræ tenuitatis contuitus; ad vos flexi animum, et severius agendum æstimavi. Fortunarum vestrarum titulos prædo impius abliguriebat, vos inopem vitam diurno pane agebatis; ille de oblationibus vestris pretiosa sibi serica mercabatur, vos populari et dissuto amictu oculos movebatis meos. Itaque, cum hæc nequirem pati, bellum aliis indixi, ut damno civium emerem [1] gratiam clericorum. Sed, ut modo experior, in ingratos beneficia collata perdidi; quod alii per angulos mussitant vos evomitis in publico. Et libertatem quidem probo, sed pietatem requiro. Morientem patrem filii de sepultura sua exagitant; communem mortalium domum mihi negabitis? Non arcetur ab introitu ecclesiæ meretricula, non usurarius, non latro; et vos papam ingredi prohibetis? Quid refert an mortuus an vivus sacrarium introeat, nisi quod vivus multis tentatur illecebris, ut nec in ecclesia macularum subsistat immunis, ibi sæpe peccandi reperiens materiam ubi venerat diluere culpam; mortuus peccare nesciat, imo peccare non possit, supremo carens viatico. Quam immanis igitur barbaries, ut hunc a domo Dei excludas, cui peccandi desit et voluntas et facultas! Quapropter, filii, tam præruptæ audaciæ pœnitentiam agite, si forte vobis remittat Deus hanc noxam. Stulte enim et amare locuti estis ad hanc horam. Sed, ne putetis me sola niti auctoritate, rationem accipite: "Omnis actus hominis secundum cordis intentionem de-

[1] *Gratiam.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; gloriam, *S.*

bet examinari, ut eo vergat facti judicium unde processit faciendi consilium." Fallor si non idem Veritas dicit, "Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit; si vero nequam fuerit, totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit." [1]Crebro me miserabilis convenit egenus ut ejus levarem inopiam; ego, futurorum inscius, non abnui, sed diversis monetis onustatum dimisi. Discedens ille in publico aggere latronem offendit; incautus cum eo sermonem conseruit, prædicans sedis apostolicæ indulgentiam, et, ut fidem dictorum probaret, marsupium protulit. Interim dum itur, multaque confabulatione via fallitur, dolosus ille, paulisper remoratus, caputque peregrini clava quam ferebat affligens, nec mora extinxit; subreptisque denariis, gloriatus est de homicidio quod persuaserat pecuniæ cupido. [2]Nunquid ergo me inde recte judicabitis, qui peregrino dederam unde causam mortis incurreret? Neque enim ille, quamvis crudelissimus, hominem pessundaret nisi avidis sinibus nummos infarcire speraret. Quid dicam de legibus forensibus et ecclesiasticis? Nonne in eis unum idemque factum, diverso respectu, et punitur et laudatur? animadvertitur in latronem quod occiderit hominem in occulto, probatur in milite si fuderit hostem in bello; ita homicidium et in illo vituperabile et in isto laudabile censetur, quia iste pro salute patriæ, ille occiderit pro aviditatis ingluvie. Laudatus est olim prædicandæ memoriæ prædecessor noster Adrianus primus quod investituras ecclesiarum Karolo Magno concesserit, ita ut nullus electus conse-

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[1] *Crebro.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; certe crebro, *S.*

[2] *Nunquid ergo me inde recte judicabitis, qui peregrino dederam unde causam mortis incurreret.*] Omitted in *C* 1.

craretur ab episcopo nisi prius a rege insigniretur et annulo et baculo: contra, laudatur in nostri sæculi pontificibus quod has donationes tulerunt principibus. Poterat tunc rationabiliter concedi, quod nunc [1]rationabiliter debet auferri. Cur ita? Quia erat animus Magni adversus avaritiam invictus, nec facile invenisset aditum aliquis nisi intrasset per ostium; præterea, per tot terrarum interstitia nequibat requiri sedes apostolica ut unicuique electo assensum commendaret suum, dum esset prope rex qui nihil per avaritiam disponeret, sed juxta sacra canonum scita religiosas personas ecclesiis introduceret. Nunc omnia palatia regum luxus et ambitus occupavit; quare merito libertatem suam sponsa Christi asseverat, ne illam tyrannus ambitioso usurpatori prostituat. Ita in utramvis partem potest causa mea infirmari vel allegari. Non est episcopi officium ut ipse [2]committi jubeat prælium; cæterum, spectat ad munus episcopi ut, si videat naufragari innocentiam, et manu et lingua occurrat. Sacerdotes Ezechiel accusat quod non steterint ex adverso, nec [3]opposuerunt clypeum pro domo Israel in die Domini. Duæ sunt scilicet personæ in ecclesia Dei ad resecanda vitia constitutæ: una quæ exacuat eloquium, altera quæ portet gladium. Ego, ut vos mihi testes esse potestis, non neglexi meas partes: quoad speravi proficere, armavi linguam; illum cujus interest rem agere gladio, certiorem feci nuncio; occupatum se rescripsit bello Windelicorum, rogans ut meis laboribus suis expensis non gravarer deturbare latronum

[1] *Rationabiliter.*] *C. D. E.*; laudabiliter, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Committi jubeat.*] *C. D. E.*; committat vel committi jubeat, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Opposuerunt.*] *S. L.*; apposuerunt, *A. C. D. E.*

conciliabula. Si renuissem, quam excusationem Deo afferrem, cum imperator suas in me partes refudisset? Viderem cædem civium, damnum peregrinorum, et dormitarem? Atqui qui parcit latroni, occidit innocentem. Sed objicietur non esse sacerdotis ut se cæde cujuslibet immaculet, et ego concedo: [1]at ille se non inquinat qui, sontem premens, insontem liberat; imo, vero imo beati, qui custodiunt judicium et faciunt justitiam in omni tempore. Sacerdotes fuerunt, amplissima laude famosi, Finees et Mathathias, ambo sacra tiara frontem insigniti, ambo sacerdotalibus stolis amicti, ambo tamen in delinquentes manu ulti sunt. [2]Alter venereos amplexus pugione confodit: alter immolantem immolatitio cruori commiscuit. Si ipsi, quasi spissas legis tenebras palpantes, pro ipsis umbraticis mysteriis zelo divino efferati sunt, nos, aperta fronte veritatem contuentes, patiemur sacra nostra prophanari? [3]Azarias sacerdos regem Oziam thurificantem expulit; et proculdubio non dubitasset occidere, nisi ille accelerasset cedere. Prævenit episcopalem manum plaga divina, ut lepra depasceretur illius cadaver cujus animus anhelasset illicita. Deturbata fuit regis devotio, et non deturbabitur latronis ambitio? Parum est quod excuso, si non et laudem factum meum. Contuli enim illis beneficium quibus videor contulisse exitium, pœnam minui qui mortem acceleravi. Sceleratus enim, quanto plus vixerit, tanto plus peccabit; nisi forte [4]aliquis quem Deus

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[1] *At ille se non inquinat.*] *D. E.*; si ille se inquinat, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Alter . . . commiscuit.*] See Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. IV. c. 6, § 12, and lib. XII. c. 6, § 2.

[3] *Azarias sacerdos.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; at Zacharias sacerdos, *C* 2.; at Zacharias sacerdotes, *C* 1. (See 2 Chron. c. XXVI. 16—21.)

[4] *Aliquis.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

singulari exemplo respexerit. Mors in commune bona est omnibus: per eam justus reponitur in cœlestibus, injustus ponit ferias sceleribus; malus dat flagitiis terminum, bonus pertendit ad bravium; sanctus propinquat ad palmam, peccator spectat ad veniam, quod figit flagitiis metam. Gratiæ igitur mihi habendæ sunt illorum vice qui tantis miseriis exempti sunt meo munere. Hæc habui, quæ pro me dicerem, ut vestras assertiones evacuarem. Sed, quoniam et meæ et vestræ ratiocinationes falli possunt, committamus omnia divino examini: corpus meum, antecessorum more compositum, ante januas ecclesiæ sistite; januæ seris et repagulis damnentur: si Deus voluerit ut ingrediar, applaudetis miraculo; sin minus, de cadavere meo facite quod potius vestris insederit animis.'

§ 203. Hac permoti oratione, cum ille [1] extremum efflasset, ante portas seris occlusas exanimis præsulis exuvias deportant; sed mox divinitus turbo emissus, omnia repagulorum obstacula dirumpens, valvas etiam ipsas, vehementi patefactas impetu, ad parietem impulit. Populus astans acclamat in gaudium: pontificis corpus cum [2] patribus celebri veneratione locatum. **A miracle.**

DE MULIERE MALEFICA A DÆMONIBUS AB ECCLESIA EXTRACTA.

§ 204. Hisdem diebus simile huic in Anglia contigit, non superno miraculo, sed inferno præstigio; quod cum retulero, non vacillabit fides historiæ etsi mentes auditorum sint incredulæ. Ego illud a tali viro audivi, qui se vidisse ju- **The witch of Berkeley.**

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[1] *Extremum efflasset.*] *C. E. L.*; extremum efflasset spiritum, *A. S. D.*

[2] *Patribus.*] *C. D. E.*; presbyteris, *S. L.*; prædecessoribus, *A.*

raret, cui erubescerem non credere. Mulier in Berkeleia mansitabat, maleficiis, ut post patuit, insueta, auguriorum veterum non inscia, gulæ patrona, petulantiæ arbitra, flagitiis non ponens modum, quod esset adhuc citra senium, vicino licet pede pulsans senectutis aditum. Hæc cum quadam die convivaretur, cornicula quam in deliciis habebat, vocalius solito, nescio quid, cornicata est: quo audito, dominæ cultellus [1]de manu excidit, simul et vultus expalluit; et, producto gemitu, 'Hodie,' ait, 'ad ultimum sulcum meum pervenit aratrum; hodie audiam et accipiam grande incommodum.' Cum dicto nuncius miseriarum intravit: percunctatus quid ita vultuosus adventaret, 'Affero,' inquit, 'tibi ex villa illa,' et nominavit locum, 'filii obitum et totius familiæ ex subita ruina interitum.' [2]Hoc dolore fœmina pectus saucia continuo decubuit; sentiensque morbum perrepere ad vitalia, superstites liberos, monachum et monacham, pernicibus invitavit epistolis. Advenientes voce singultiente alloquitur: 'Ego, filii, quodam meo miserabili fato dæmonicis semper artibus inservii; ego vitiorum omnium sentina, ego illecebrarum magistra fui. Erat tamen, inter hæc mala, spes vestræ religionis quæ miseram palparet animam; de me desperata, in vobis reclinabar; vos proponebam propugnatores adversus dæmones, tutores contra sævissimos hostes. Nunc igitur, quia ad finem vitæ accessi, et illos habebo exactores in pœna quos habui suasores in culpa, rogo vos per materna ubera, si qua fides, si qua pietas, ut mea saltem tentetis alleviare tormenta: et de anima quidem sententiam prolatam non revocabitis,

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[1] *De manu.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[2] *Hoc dolore.*] *A. C. D. E.*; hoc dicto et dolore, *S. L.*

corpus vero forsitan hoc modo servabitis. Insuite [1]me corio cervino, deinde in sarcophago lapideo supinate, operculum plumbo et ferro constringite; super hæc lapidem tribus catenis ferreis, magni scilicet ponderis, circumdate: psalmicines quinquaginta sint noctibus, ejusdemque numeri missæ diebus, qui adversariorum excursus feroces levigent. Ita, si tribus noctibus secure jacuero, quarta die infodite matrem vestram humo; quanquam verear ne fugiat terra sinibus me recipere et fovere suis, quæ totiens gravata est malitiis meis.' Factum est ut præceperat, illis magno studio incumbentibus. Sed, proh nefas! nil lachrymæ valuere piæ, nil vota, nil preces; tanta erat mulierculæ malitia, tanta diaboli violentia. Primis enim duabus noctibus, cum chori clericorum psalmos circa corpus concreparent, singuli dæmones ostium ecclesiæ, immani obice clausum, levi negotio defringentes, extremas catenas diruperunt; media, quæ operiosius elaborata erat, [2]illibata duravit. Tertia nocte, circa gallicinium, strepitu advenientium hostium omne monasterium a fundamentis [3]moveri visum: unus, cæteris et vultu terribilior et statura eminentior, januas majori vi concussas in fragmenta dejecit. Diriguere clerici metu, '[4]steteruntque comæ et vox faucibus hæsit.' Ille arroganti, ut videbatur, gestu ad sarcophagum accessit, inclamatoque nomine, ut surgeret imperavit: qua respondente quod nequiret pro vinculis, 'Solveris,' inquit, 'et malo tuo;' statimque catenam, quæ cæterorum

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[1] *Me.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[2] *Illibata duravit.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A.* and *L* 1.; 'integra remansit,' *S.* and interlined by a different hand in *L* 2.

[3] *Moveri visum.*] *C. D. E.*; visum est everti, *S.*; visum, *A. L* 1.; 'est everti' interlined by a different hand in *L* 2.

[4] *Steteruntque comæ et vox faucibus hæsit.*] Virg. Æn. III. 48.

ferociam eluserat, nullo conamine ut stuppeum vinculum dirupit. Operculum etiam tumbæ pede depulit; apprehensamque manu, palam omnibus, ab ecclesia extraxit: ubi præ foribus equus, niger et superbus, hinniens videbatur, uncis ferreis per totum tergum protuberantibus; super quos misera imposita, mox ab oculis intuentium, cum toto sodalitio disparuit. Audiebantur tamen clamores per quatuor fere milliaria miserabiles suppetias orantis. Ista incredibilia non judicabit qui legerit beati [1] Gregorii Dialogum, qui refert in quarto libro nequam hominem, in ecclesia sepultum, a dæmonibus foras ejectum. Apud Francos quoque non semel auditum est quod dicam: Karolum Martellum insignis fortitudinis virum, qui Saracenos, Gallias ingressos, Hispaniam redire compulit, exactis diebus suis in ecclesia sancti Dionysii sepultum; sed, quia patrimonia omnium pene monasteriorum Galliæ pro mercede commilitonum mutilaverat, visibiliter a malignis spiritibus e sepulchro abreptum, ad hanc diem nusquam visum. Denique illud revelatum Aurelianensi episcopo, et per eum in vulgus seminatum.

DE ANNULO STATUÆ COMMENDATO.

Legend of the priest Palumbus.

§ 205. Verum ut Romam revertar. Ejusdem urbis civis, [2] ephœbus ætate, locuples opibus, genere senatorio sublimis, [3] uxorem noviter duxerat; sodalibus suis accitis, convivium frequens paraverat. Post cibum, cum minutioribus poculis hilaritatem invitassent, in campum prodeunt, ut oneratos dapibus stomachos vel saltu,

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[1] *Gregorii Dialogum ... in quarto libro.*] Many similar legends are to be found in the Dialogues of Gregory.

[2] *Ephœbus.*] Glossed in *A* 1. 'Lucianus.'

[3] *Uxorem.*] Glossed in *A* 1. 'Eugeniam.'

vel jactu, vel aliquo exercitio attenuarent. Ipse rex convivii, ludi signifer, pilam poposcit: interim annulum sponsalitium digito extento statuæ æreæ, quæ proxime astabat, composuit. Sed cum pene omnes solum impeterent, suspiriosus, extis incalescentibus, primus se a lusu removit: annulum repetens, invenit statuæ digitum usque ad volam curvatum. Diu ibi luctatus, quod nec annulum ejicere, nec digitum valeret frangere, tacite discessit; re sodalibus celata, ne vel præsentem riderent, vel absentem annulo privarent. Ita nocte intempesta cum famulis rediens, digitum iterum extentum, et annulum subreptum, miratus est. Dissimulato damno, novæ nuptæ blanditiis delinitus est. Cumque hora [1]cubandi venisset, seque juxta uxorem collocasset, sensit quiddam nebulosum et densum inter se et illam volutari, quod posset sentiri, nec posset videri. Hoc obstaculo ab amplexu prohibitus, vocem etiam audivit, 'Mecum concumbe, quia hodie me desponsasti: ego sum Venus, cujus digito apposuisti annulum; habeo illum, nec reddam.' Territus ille tanto prodigio, nihil referre ausus est nec potuit; insomnem illam noctem duxit, tacito judicio rem examinans. Elapsum est in hoc multum tempus, ut quacunque ille hora gremio vellet conjugis incumbere, illud idem sentiret et audiret; alias sane valens, et domi aptus et militiæ. Tandem, querelis uxoris commonitus, rem parentibus detulit: illi, habito consilio, Palumbo cuidam suburbano presbytero negotium pandunt; erat is nigromanticis artibus instructus, magicas excitare figuras, dæmones territare et ad quodlibet officium impellere. Pactus ergo grande mercimo-

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[1] *Cubandi.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; cumbendi, *L.*

nium, ut, si amantes conjungeret, multo ære fulciret marsupium, in omne se ingenium notis artibus excitavit, compositamque epistolam juveni dedit; 'Vade,' inquiens, 'illa hora noctis ad compitum ubi se findit in quadruvium, et stans tacite considera. Transient ibi figuræ hominum utriusque sexus, omnis ætatis, omnis gradus, omnis postremo conditionis; quidam equites, quidam pedites; alii vultum in terram dejecti, alii tumido supercilio elati; et prorsus quicquid ad lætitiam vel tristitiam pertinet, in illorum videbis et vultibus et gestibus: nullum eorum compellabis etsi loquantur tecum. Sequetur illam turbam quidam, reliquis statura procerior, forma corpulentior, curru sedens; huic tacitus epistolam trades legendam: fiet e vestigio quod voles, fac tantum præsenti animo sis.' Aggreditur ille iter præceptum, et, nocte sub divo astans, fidem dictorum presbyteri visu explorat; nihil enim fuit quod minus promissis [1]desideraret. Inter cæteros quoque transeuntes vidit mulierem ornatu meretricio mulam inequitantem; crinis solutus humeris involitabat, quem vitta aurea superne constrinxerat; in manibus aurea virga qua equitaturam regebat: ipsa, pro tenuitate vestium pene nuda, gestus impudicos exequebatur. Quid plura? Ultimus, qui dominus videbatur, oculos terribiles in juvenem exacuens, ab axe superbo smaragdis et unionibus composito, causas adventus exquirit: nihil ille contra, sed protenta manu porrigit epistolam. Dæmon, notum sigillum non ausus contemnere, legit scriptum; moxque, brachiis in cœlum elatis, 'Deus,' inquit, '[2]omnipotens, quamdiu patieris nequitias Pa-

[1] *Desideraret.*] *E.*; desiderares, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[2] *Omnipotens.*] *A. C. D. E.*; in cujus conspectu omne peccatum est tanquam fœtor, *S. L* 2.; interlined in *L* 1. by a later hand.

lumbi presbyteri?' Nec mora, satellites a latere suo misit qui annulum extorquerent a Venere: illa, [1]multum tergiversata, vix tandem reddidit. Ita juvenis, voti compos, sine obstaculo potitus est diu suspiratis amoribus. Sed Palumbus, ubi dæmonis clamorem ad Deum de se audivit, finem dierum sibi præsignari intellexit. Quocirca, omnibus membris ultro truncatis, miserabili defunctus est pœnitentia, confessus papæ coram populo Romano inaudita flagitia.

DE CORPORE PALLANTIS FILII EVANDRI.

§ 206. Tunc [2]corpus Pallantis filii Evandri, de quo Virgilius narrat, Romæ repertum est illibatum, ingenti stupore omnium quod tot secula incorruptione sui superavit; quod ea sit natura conditorum corporum, ut, carne tabescente, cutis exterior nervos, nervi ossa contineant. Hiatus vulneris quod in medio pectore Turnus fecerat, quatuor pedibus et semis mensuratum est. Epitaphium hujusmodi repertum: **Concerning the body of Pallas, son of Evander.**

'Filius Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo, jacet hic.'

Quod non tunc crediderim factum, licet Carmentis, mater Evandri, Latinas literas dicatur invenisse; sed ab Ennio, vel alio aliquo antiquo [3]poeta compositum. Ardens lucerna ad caput inventa arte mechanica, ut nullius flatus violentia, nullius liquoris aspergine, valeret extingui. Quod cum multi mirarentur, unus, ut semper aliqui solertius ingenium in malis habent, stylo subtus flammam foramen fecit; ita introducto aere, ignis

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[1] *Multum tergiversata.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; vultum tergiversata, *S.*

[2] *Corpus Pallantis filii Evandri, de quo Virgilius narrat.*] Virg. Æn. x. 474—487.

[3] *Poeta.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

evanuit. Corpus, muro applicitum, vastitate sui mœnium altitudinem vicit; sed procedentibus diebus, stillicidiis rorulentis infusum, communem mortalium corruptionem agnovit, cute soluta et nervis fluentibus.

DE MULIERE DUO CORPORA HABENTE.

A legend allusive to England and Normandy.

§ 207. Tunc quoque in confinio Britanniæ et Normanniæ portentum visum est in una vel potius duabus mulieribus. Duo erant capita, quatuor brachia, et cætera gemina omnia usque ad umbilicum: inferius duo crura, duo pedes, et cætera omnia singula. Ridebat, comedebat, loquebatur una: flebat, esuriebat, tacebat altera. Ore gemino manducabatur, sed uno meatu digerebatur. Postremo una defuncta, supervixit altera: portavit pene triennio viva mortuam, donec et mole ponderis et nidore cadaveris ipsa quoque defecit. Putatum est a quibusdam, et literis etiam traditum, quod hæ mulieres Angliam et Normanniam significaverint; quæ, licet spatiis terrarum sint divisæ, sunt tamen sub uno dominio unitæ. Hæ quicquid pecuniarum avidis faucibus insorbuerint, in unam lacunam defluit, quæ sit vel principum avaritia, vel circumpositarum gentium ferocia: mortuam et pene exhaustam Normanniam vigens pecuniis sustentat Anglia, donec et ipsa fortassis succumbat exactorum violentia; felix si unquam in libertatem respirare poterit, cujus inanem jamdudum persequitur umbram. Nunc gemit calamitatibus afflicta, pensionibus addicta: causam hujusce calamitatis describam, si prius quædam dixero ad rem pertinentia. Quia enim forensia gesta et negotia bellica regum Anglorum huc usque contexui, libet aliquantisper in sanctitate quorun-

Account of Anglo-Saxon saints.

dam spatiari: simulque considerandum quatenus divinæ pietatis fulgor ab initio fidei populum illum circumfulserit, quod nusquam gentium, ut opinor, reperies tot sanctorum illibata post mortem corpora, incorruptionis illius extremæ simulachrum præferentia. Quod ideo fieri credo cœlitus, ut natio pene extra orbem posita, ex consideratione incorruptelæ sanctorum, fidentius ad spem resurrectionis animaretur. Et sunt sane quinque omnino quos noverim, (cæterum, plures accolæ prædicant sui,) sancta [1] Etheldritha et [2] Wiburga virgines, [3] rex Edmundus, [4] archiepiscopus Elfegus, [5] Cuthbertus antiquus pater, omnes inviolatis cute et carne, flexibilibus articulis, extremus vitali quodam tepore, speciem dormientium meditantes. Quis enumeret cæteros om-

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[1] *Etheldritha.*] Etheldrith was the daughter of Anna king of the East-Angles, and wife of Ecgfrith. She founded the monastery of Ely in 673, and became the first abbess thereof. She was buried at Ely, where her body remained incorruptible. Beda, (lib. IV. c. XIX. and XX.) has celebrated this lady.

[2] *Wiburga.*] Wihtburg was another daughter of Anna king of East-Anglia. Her 'body was found (A.D. 797) at Deorham, all whole and uncorrupted, five-and-fifty years after she had departed from this life.' (Sax. Chron.) But Florence assigns the following year to that event: 'A. D. 798. Corpus sanctæ Wihtburgæ virginis, filiæ Annæ regis Orientalium Anglorum, et sororis sanctarum virginum Sexburgæ, Aethelburgæ, ac Aetheldrithæ, sine corruptione inventum est, post annos fere LV. ex quo apud villam quæ Dirham vocatur humatum est.' (Flor. Wigorn.) Compare 'Vita B. Wihtburgæ Virginis,' MSS. Trin. Coll. Cant. Gall. O. 2.

[3] *Rex Edmundus.*] King of East-Anglia: he was martyred on the 20th Nov. in the year 870. See note [5], p. 136.

[4] *Archiepiscopus Elfegus.*] See notes [1] and [4], p. 265.

[5] *Cuthbertus.*] St. Cuthbert, sixth bishop and patron-saint of Lindisfarne. Upon his grave being opened, eleven years after his interment, his body, being found uncorrupted and entire, was removed to another place; and in the year 1104, upwards of four centuries after its first exhumation, his coffin was again opened, and the body, still whole and uncorrupted, was translated to Durham. In the year 1827 Cuthbert's tomb was opened a third time: a full and interesting account of the robes and reliques therein found has been published by the Rev. Mr. Raine of Durham. (4to. Durham, 1828.)

nifariæ conditionis [1]et professionis sanctos? [2]Quorum nuncupatim nomina et vitas persequi nec propositum est nec otium; [3]quanquam, oh si tempus olim fuerit super! sed tacebo, ne majora viribus videar polliceri. Atque adeo nullum de plebe necesse est nominare, sed tantum regiæ stirpis pueros puellasve, ut cœptæ materiæ orbitas ducam; plerosque innocenter cæsos, quos non humana conjectura, sed divina ratio, martyres consecravit: unde datur cognosci quantam fecerint licentiæ voluptatum parcimoniam, qui, tam facilis necis compendio, cœlestem occupaverunt gloriam.

Oswald, king and martyr.

§ 208. [4]In laudibus beatissimi Oswaldi, regis et martyris, in superiori libro aliquandiu versata est oratio; cujus sanctitatis fuere indicia, cum cætera, [5]tum illud quod secundum quædam exemplaria in gestis Anglorum asseritur. In Se-

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[1] *Et professionis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Quorum nuncupatim nomina et vitas.*] *A. S. C. E.*; *L.* reads 'omnia' for 'nomina;' quorum nunc pandere nomina et vitam, *D.*

[3] *Quanquam, oh si tempus olim fuerit super!*] *A. S. C. E. K. L.*; quanquam otii tempus olim fuerit super, *S.*

[4] *In laudibus beatissimi Oswaldi, regis et martyris, in superiori libro aliquandiu versata est oratio.*] § 49, pp. 70—74.

[5] *Tum illud quod secundum quædam exemplaria in gestis Anglorum asseritur.*] Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Angl. lib. IV. c. XIV. Some MSS. of Beda want this chapter. More's MS. however, from which Smith printed, has it. That learned editor accounts for the omission thus: 'Magna hic est differentia MSS. in numerandis capitulis. Nec hic titulus nec proxime sequens est in indice capitulorum codicis Mori, etiamsi caput XIV. sit in ipso codice, quod et de codice Cottoniano II. notandum est, sed in codice Cottoniano I. deest hoc caput XIV. de Oswaldo, et notatur in margine manu valde antiqua "Hic deest folium." Exinde etiam sequiores MSS. vel argumenta capitum XIV. et XV. vel caput ipsum XIV. omittunt, prout ab hoc vel illo veteri codice transcripti fuerint. Sed cum argumenta et dispositio capitum bene conveniant subjecto in vulgaribus MSS. unusque e veteribus MSS. folium deest fateatur, et recepti ordinis mutatio confusionem aliquam lectoribus pariat, ego in antiquorum codicum dissonantia vulgarem dispositionem secutus sum.'

lesiensi cœnobio, quod sanctæ religionis [1]Wilfridus monachis Northanhimbris repleverat, exitialem morbum exortum multos necasse; reliquos, triduano indicto jejunio, pestem pellere tentasse. Secunda jejunii die, beatos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, puero eadem valetudine decumbenti apparentes, his illum animasse: non eum debere metuere mortem imminentem, quæ sit et præsentis languoris exitus et vitæ perennis introitus. Cæterum, neminem de illo monasterio hac pestilentia moriturum, quod Deus præclari regis Oswaldi concesserit meritis, pro compatriotis eadem die supplicantis; hunc enim esse diem quo idem rex, peremtus a perfidis, stellatum in momento tribunal conscenderit. Quærerent ergo in albo quo mortuorum scribebantur nomina, et si ita invenirent, soluto jejunio, securitati et lætitiæ indulgentes, missarum solennia Deo et sancto regi concinerent. [2]Huic visioni pueri mors e vestigio subsecuta, martyrisque dies in martyrologio inventa, simul et expulsio morbi, ab omni provincia adeo sunt attestata, ut nomen Oswaldi ex tunc inter martyres notaretur; quod, pro recenti funere, fidelium antea numero sociabatur. Merito ergo, merito, inquam, laudandus, cujus gloriam divinus assensus approbato extulit indicio, ut eum missarum præciperet celebrari præconio; inusitato, ut opinor, mortalibus exemplo. Ne autem hæc videantur frivola, prohibet indubitata historici auctoritas, simulque beatus [3]episcopus Acca, relatoris symmistes.

Saints Aethelred or Elberht, and Aegelberht.

§ 209. [4]Egbertus rex Cantuariorum, filius Er-

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[1] *Wilfridus.*] See note [1], p. 78.

[2] *Huic.*] *E. L.*; Huic autem, *S.*

[3] *Episcopus Acca.*] Acca, Wilferth's priest, succeeded to the bishoprick of Hexham in 710. (See Beda, lib. v. c. xx. and Smith's note on that subject.)

[4] *Egbertus rex Cantuariorum, filius Ercomberti, de quibus supra dixi.*] § 12, p. 21.

comberti, de quibus supra dixi, habuit cognatos juvenes, vicino consanguinitatis gradu lineam regum contingentes, [1]Ethelredum et Egelbirtum, filios scilicet Ermenredi patrui sui. Hos ille in spem regni adolescere metuens, salutique suæ timens, ægro et miserabili victu circa se aliquandiu habitos, tandem contuitum suum eis invidens, ab aulæ frequentia removit; moxque per ministrum nomine Thunre, quod tonitruum sonat, occulte interemtos, scobi profundæ immersit, arbitratus posse latere homicidium quod commisisset clam visibus hominum. Sed divinus ille oculus, quem arcana cordium non fallunt, tulit in lucem insontes, multas ibi largitus sanitatum gratias; quoad vicini commoti, rudera illa tumultuario cespite corporibus [2]conjecta effodientes, fossam ad speciem sepulchri dirigunt, ecclesiola super ædificata. Jacuere ibi usque ad tempus regis Edgari; tunc enim a beato Oswaldo [3]archiepiscopo Wigorniensi levata, et ad cœnobium Ramesiæ deportata sunt: ex qua die multis se miraculis manifestarunt supplicum votis exorabiles.

St. Aethelberht.

§ 210. Offa rex Merciorum, pro confirmatione, ut putabat, regni, sine ullo delectu amici vel inimici multos potentes trucidavit; inter quos [4]Egelbirtum regem, nefariam rem in procum filiæ operatus. Verum illius mors innocua, brevi regno filii Offæ creditur, ut supra dixi, vindicata: quin et Deus adeo evidentibus signis sanctitatem ejus prodidit, ut hodieque sedes episco-

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[1] *Ethelredum et Egelbirtum, filios scilicet Ermenredi patrui sui.*] See note [6], p. 21, and § 13, p. 22.

[2] *Conjecta.*] *C. D. E.*; injecta, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Archiepiscopo.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; episcopo, *D.*—Oswald was archbishop of York, as well as bishop of Worcester.

[4] *Egelbirtum regem.*] See § 86, p. 118, and note [3], p. 136.

palis Herefordi sub ipsius nomine consecretur. Nec ineptum debet videri aut incongruum quod antecessores nostri, probi et religiosi viri, vel taciturnitate tolleraverunt, vel auctoritate roboraverunt.

§ 211. Quid de sancto [1]Kenelmo, [2]teneræ ætatulæ puero, stylus hic comminiscetur dignum? Hunc pater Kenulfus rex Merciorum, septennem, Quendridæ sororis fidei educandum reliquit; sed illa, falso sibi regnum præsagiens, fraterculum, tollendum e medio, satelliti qui alumnus erat commendavit. Is insontem, causa remittendi [3]animum quasi venatum ducens, inter frutecta obtruncatum occuluit. Et mirum dictu, quod fraus, tam celate in Anglia commissa, Romæ divinitus innotuit: siquidem membrana super altare sancti Petri superne, columba ferente, delapsa, necis et sepulchralis loci per ordinem index; quæ, quia elementis Anglicis erat conscripta, a Romanis, et aliarum gentium hominibus qui aderant, frustra legi tentata. Sed salubriter et in tempore astitit Anglus, et, linguæ involucrum Latialiter Quiritibus evolvens, effecit ut apostolici epistola regibus Anglis compatriotam martyrem indicaret; quapropter frequenti cœtu innocentis corpus levatum Winchelcumbam vehebatur. Ita clericorum vocali cantu, et laicorum alacri plausu, parricidalis fœmina commota, e fenestra cœnaculi in quo stabat caput extulit; et, forte psalterium præ manibus habens, continuatione lectionis ad psalmum pervenerat, 'Deus laudem meam,' quem a fine, nescio quo præstigio, retrograde dicens, nitebatur lætitiam

St. Cênelm.

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[1] *Kenelmo.*] See note [2], p. 132.

[2] *Teneræ ætatulæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; teneræ ætati, *L.*

[3] *Animum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; after 'animum' *S.* reads 'vel recreandi.'

cantantium infirmare. Tum vero vi divina lumina veneficæ, cavis orbibus evulsa, cruore versum polluerunt, 'Hoc opus eorum qui detrahunt mihi apud Dominum, et qui loquuntur mala adversus animam meam.' Cruoris signa extant hodie, immanitatem mulierculæ et Dei ultionem spirantia. Corpusculum sancti celebriter colitur, nec ullus fere locus in Anglia majori ad festum adventantium veneratur frequentia. Exigit hoc et antiquæ sanctitatis persuasio, et miraculorum crebra exhibitio.

St. Wistan.

§ 212. Nec vacabunt laude tua paginæ nostræ, felix puer, [1]Wistane fili Wimundi, filii Wihtlafii regis Merciorum, et Ethelfledæ filiæ Chelwulfi qui fuit patruus Kenelmi: te, inquam, non tacebo, quem Berfertus cognatus nefarie interemit. Norintque posteri, si qui has literas cognitione dignas duxerint, nihil in seculo indolis tuæ nobilitate gloriosius, qua irritatus [2]infestus lanio te mortificaverit; nihil in Deo puritate tua innocentius, qua invitatus internus arbiter te honorificaverit: nam cœlo demissa [3]columna lucifera, densæque noctis dirumpens pallia, profundæ caveæ scelus detexit, carnificis nequitiam arguit. Quapropter venerandæ reliquiæ, levatæ parentum officio, Rapendune locatæ sunt, tunc temporis [4]famoso monasterio; nunc est villa comitis Cestrensis, cujus gloria pro situ vetustatis exoleta. Nunc Eveshamum inhabitas, dignus qui faventium votis serenus indulgeas.

St. Edmund, king and martyr.

§ 213. De sanctitate regum Orientalium Saxonum et Orientalium Anglorum Beda multa

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[1] *Wistane.*] Concerning St. Wistan, consult MSS. Harl. 2253, 'De Martyrio S. Wistani.'

[2] *Infestus lanio.*] *A.D.E.L.*; infestus latro, *S.*; infaustus latro, *C.*

[3] *Columna.*] *D. E. L.*; columba, *A. S. C.*

[4] *Famoso.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; after 'famoso' *A.* reads 'sicut in primo libro dixit.'

retulit; quorum [1] regnorum genealogiam hujus operis [2] primo libro breviter intexui, quia plena gesta regum nusquam potui [3] reperire. Veruntamen [4] de sancto Edmundo, quem seculum Bedæ non attigit, amplior procudetur oratio, qui in Orientali Anglia principatum tenuit. Provincia illa ab austro et oriente cingitur oceano; ab aquilone paludum uligine et stagnorum rapaci voragine, quæ trium vel duum [5] millium spatio latitudine, infinitaque longitudine, protensa, incolarum usui piscosam præbent exuberantiam; ab occidente reliquæ insulæ continua, sed defossa humo ad instar muri aggere permunita. Pecorum pabulis, ferarum capturis humus egregia; cœnobiis referta, congregationibus monachorum numerosissimis intra ipsas stagnorum insulas institutis; gens læta et lepida, facetaque festivitate jocorum ad petulantiam pronior. [6] Hic regnavit Edmundus, vir Deo devotus, avita prosapia regum excellens; qui, cum aliquot annis pacifice provinciæ præfuisset, nulla temporum mollitie virtutem evirare impulsus. Danorum duces, Hinguar et Hubba, Northanhimbrorum et Orientalium Anglorum [7] depopulaturi provincias venere: quorum primus regem non resistentem, sed armis projectis solo pronum et orantem, cepit, et [8] post nonnulla tor-

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[1] *Regnorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L. M.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Primo libro breviter intexui.*] §§ 97, 98, pp. 133—139.

[3] *Reperire.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; invenire, *S.*

[4] *De sancto Edmundo.*] See note [5], p. 136.

[5] *Millium.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; milliariorum, *A.*

[6] *Hic regnavit.*] From these words to the end of § 213 occurs in Malmes. De Gestis Pontif. p. 136.

[7] *Depopulaturi.*] *A. C. D. E.*; depopulari, *S. L.*

[8] *Post nonnulla tormenta decapitavit.*] He was tied to a tree, and shot to death with arrows. See Abbo, De Passione S. Edmundi, Regis Orientalium Anglorum; MS. Dom. Joh. Bapt. Oxon. No. 199.

menta decapitavit. Emicuit post necem beati viri transactæ vitæ puritas miraculis inauditis. Caput, a corpore lictoris sævitia divisum, dumeta projicientibus Danis occuluerant: quod dum cives quærerent, hostem abeuntem vestigiis insecuti, funeri regio justas soluturi inferias, jocunda Dei munera hausere; exanimati capitis vocem expressam, omnes ad se lustratores invitantis. Lupum, feram cadaveri assuetam, lacertis illud [1]circumplexum, innoxiam prætendere custodiam: eundem, more domestici animalis, bajulos post tergum modeste ad tumbam secutum, nullum læsisse, a nullo læsum esse. Tunc pro tempore humi traditum corpus venerabile, terrea gleba superjecta, et exilis pretii lignea capella superstructa. Sed aderat oscitantibus provincialibus virtus martyris, semisopitas mentes eorum ad sui reverentiam signis excitans; et leve quidem ac frigidum sit, sed primum [2]virtutum ejus experimentum, quod subjiciam. Latrunculos, noctu sacram ædem expilare aggressos, invisis loris in ipsis conatibus irretivit; formoso admodum spectaculo, quod præda prædones tenuit, ut nec cœpto desistere, nec inchoata valerent perficere. Quapropter Theodredus Londoniæ præsul, qui apud sanctum Paulum jacet, plebeiæ machinæ diuturnam [3]amolitus est injuriam, augustius ædificium super veneranda membra molitus; quæ et miranda incorruptione, et lacteo quodam candore, gloriam sanctæ animæ prædicabant. Caput, olim a cervice revulsum, nunc reliquo corpori compaginatum, signum tamen martyrii coccinea cicatrice

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[1] *Circumplexum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; complexum, *S.*

[2] *Virtutum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[3] *Amolitus est injuriam.*] *C. D. E.*; sustulit invidiam, *A. S. L.*

prætendens. Porro illud humana miracula excedit, hominis mortui crines et ungues sensim pullulare; quos Oswen, quædam sancta mulier, quot annis hos tonderet, illos desecaret, sacra veneratione posteris futuros: sanctæ temeritatis fœmina, quæ coram cerneret et contrectaret artus quibus omnis inferior hic est mundus. At non ita Lefstanus, præcipitis et effrenatæ audaciæ adolescens, qui sibi corpus martyris minis inflatioribus ostendi exegerat; famæ, ut dicebat, incertum fide oculorum ponderare [1]deliberans. Ideoque prærupti ausus pœnam tulit, amens effectus; et post modicum scaturiens vermibus, et mortuus. Novit profecto quod olim consueverat, novit Edmundus modo facere:

'Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.'

Quibus artibus ita sibi omnis Britanniæ devinxit incolas, ut beatum se in primis astruat qui cœnobium illius vel nummo vel valenti illustrat. Ipsi quoque reges, aliorum domini, servos se illius gloriantur, et coronam ei regiam missitant, magno si uti volunt redimentes commercio. Exactores vectigalium, qui alias bacchantur, fas nefasque juxta metientes, ibi supplices citra fossatum sancti Edmundi litigationes sistunt, experti multorum pœnam qui perseverandum [2]putarunt.

§ 214. Nomina quoque puellarum regii generis aliquarum oris mei perstringet præconium; præfata brevitatis venia, quam non fastidii nausea, sed miraculorum facit inscitia. Anna rex Orientalium Anglorum habuit filias tres, Ethel- Account of royal female saints.

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[1] *Deliberans.*] *C. D. E.*; desiderans, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Putarunt.*] Much more on this subject occurs in Malmes. De Gest. Pontif. lib. II. p. 136^b, edit. Lond.

St. Etheldrith. dritham, Ethelburgam, Sexburgam. Etheldritha, duobus viris nupta, felici ([1] ut Beda auctor est) continentia, sine ulla pudoris jactura, sine ulla libidinis urtica, perpetuæ virginitatis lauream St. Ethelburh. cœlo victrix exhibuit. Ethelburga, in monasterio Galliæ quod dicitur [2] Brigis, sanctimonialis primum, dehinc abbatissa, illibatæ integritatis signaculo floruit: et speciosum certe quod ambæ sorores, sicut concupiscentiam carnis in se vivæ domuerant, ita defunctæ incorruptam eandem præferunt, illa in Anglia, ista in Gallia, ut earum sanctitas, quæ abunde fulgurat, 'sufficiat St. Sexburh. geminos irradiare polos.' Sexburga, Ercomberto regi Cantuariorum in matrimonium data, et post ejus mortem velata in eodem monasterio quo soror Etheldritha, prædicatur sancta. Habuit ex illo rege filias Ercongotam et Ermenildam. St. Ercongota. [3] De Ercongota scire volentes lectio Bedæ infor- St. Ermenhilda. mabit. [4] Ermenilda, Wulferio regi Merciorum lo- St. Werburh. cata, habuit filiam Werburgam, virginem sanctissimam. Utræque sanctæ, mater apud Hely, ubi post matrem Sexburgam abbatissa [5] fuit, filia apud civitatem Legionum, pausant, in monasterio ejusdem urbis quod construxit noviter Hugo comes Cestrensis, ejectis inde pauculis clericis qui ibidem fœdo et paupere victu vitam transigebant. Earum, et præcipue junioris, ibi laudantur merita, extolluntur miracula; cumque omnium petitionibus sint incunctanter favora-

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[1] *Ut Beda auctor est.*] Histor. Eccles. lib. IV. cc. 19, 20.

[2] *Brigis.*] Faremoustier en Brie, a celebrated Benedictine nunnery.

[3] *De Ercongota scire volentes lectio Bedæ informabit.*] Histor. Eccles. lib. III. c. 8, § 172. See also Malmes. Gesta Reg. Angl. § 11, note [1], p. 21.

[4] *Ermenilda, Wulferio regi Merciorum locata, habuit filiam Werburgam, virginem sanctissimam.*] See antea, p. 110.

[5] *Fuit.*] After 'fuit' *S. L.* read 'et.'

biles, [1]tum maxime orationes fœminarum et puerorum vicino et contiguo auxilii pede attingunt.

§ 215. Frater Wulferii [2]Merewaldus, ex Ermenberga filia Ermenredi fratris Ercomberti, tulit [3]filias, Mildritham et Milburgam. Mildritha [4]in Taneto insula Cantiæ, quam matri suæ in solutionem necis fratrum suorum, Ethelredi et Egelbirthi, dederat rex Egbertus, cœlibatui dans operam, ibidem vitæ metam incurrit. Sequenti tempore, ad cœnobium sancti Augustini Cantuariam translata, eximia monachorum sedulitate honoratur, pietatis fama et dulcedinis juxta vocabulum suum in cunctos æque prædicabilis. Et quamvis ibi pene omnes monasterii anfractus pleni sint sanctorum corporibus, nec eorum parvi nominis aut meriti, sed quorum singula per se possent illustrare Angliam, nullo tamen illa colitur inferius, quin immo amatur et commemoratur dulcius. Adest illa se diligentibus, nullos surda transiens aure, saluti consulens animæ. St. Mildritha.

§ 216. [5]Milburga apud Weneloc requiescit; olim ab accolis nota, sed post adventum Normannorum, dum nescitur locus sepulchri, aliquandiu oblivioni data: nuper vero, adunato ibi conventu monachorum Cluniacensium, dum, inchoata novi templi machina, quidam puer per pavimentum concitatius cursitaret, effracta mausolei St. Milburga.

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[1] *Tum.*] *C. D. E.*; tunc, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Merewaldus.*] See antea, p. 110.

[3] *Filias.*] *A. C. D. E.*; duas filias, *S. L.*

[4] *In Taneto insula Cantiæ, quam matri suæ in solutionem necis fratrum suorum, Ethelredi et Egelbirthi, dederat rex Egbertus.*] When it was left to her to estimate this compensation, (*i. e.* their weregild,) she asked as much land as her stag should compass at one course in the isle of Thanet, where she founded the monastery of Minster. Vide W. Thorn. col. 1910, et Natale S. Mildrythæ (Saxonice), MS. Cott. Calig. A. XIV. 4. Sharpe, 278.

[5] *Milburga.*] See antea, p. 110.

fovea propalam corpus virginis fecit. Tunc balsamici odoris aura per ecclesiam [1]properante, altius levatum tot miracula præbuit, ut, catervatim [2]eorum populorum unde confluerent, vix patuli campi capiebant viatorum agmina; dum æquis umbonibus dives et mendicus se agerent, cunctos in commune præcipitante fide. Nec cassum eventum res habuit, adeo ut nullus inde nisi extincta vel mitigata valetudine discederet; nonnullosque regius morbus, medicis sane incurabilis, per merita virginis relinqueret.

St. Eådburh. § 217. Edwardus senior, [3]de quo superius multa retuli, suscepit ex uxore [4]Edgiva filias multas; inter quas et Edburgam, quæ, [5]vix dum trima esset, spectabile futuræ sanctitatis dedit periculum. Explorare volebat pater utrum ad Deum an ad seculum declinatura esset pusiola; posueratque in triclinio diversarum [6]professionum ornamenta, hinc calicem et evangelia, inde armillas et monilia. Illuc virguncula ulnis [7]nutritiæ blandientis allata, genibus parentis assedit; jussaque utrum vellet eligere, torvo aspectu secularia [8]despiciens, prompteque manibus [9]reptans evangelia et calicem, puellari adoravit innocentia. Exclamat cœtus assidentium, auspicium futuræ sanctitatis in puella; exosculatus, pater ipse arctioribus basiis dignatus sobolem. 'Vade,' inquit, 'quo te vocat Divinitas, sequere fausto pede quem elegisti Sponsum; et profecto

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[1] *Properante.*] *C. D. E.*; spirante, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Eorum.*] *E.*; eo, *A.S.C.D.L.*

[3] *De quo superius multa retuli.*] See antea, p. 194.

[4] *Edgiva.*] *E.*; Elfgiva, *A. S. L.*; Edelswitha, *C. D.*

[5] *Vix dum.*] *A. D. E. L.*; *S. C.* omit 'vix.'

[6] *Professionum.*] *A.C.D.E.L.*; possessionum, *S.*

[7] *Nutritiæ.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nutricis, *S.*

[8] *Despiciens.*] *E.*; despuens, *A. C. D. L. M.*; respuens, *S.*

[9] *Reptans.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; raptans, *S.*

et ego et conjux felices [1]erimus si a filia religione victi fuerimus.' Ita sanctimonialium habitum induta, cunctas sodales ad amorem sui in urbe Wintoniæ sedulitate obsequii invitabat; nec resupinabat eam alta prosapiæ magnitudo, quod generosum putaret in Christi inclinari servitio. Crescebat cum ætate sanctitas; adolescebat cum adulta humilitas, in tantum ut singularum soccos furtim noctu surriperet, et diligenter lotos et inunctos lectis [2]rursus apponeret. Quapropter, licet multis miraculis Deus viventem insignierit, istud exemplum magis in causa prædico, quod omnia opera ejus inchoabat charitas et consummabat humilitas. Denique devotionem pectoris et integritatem corporis ejus miracula, in vita et post mortem, commendant plurima, quæ templorum ejus æditui Wintoniæ et Perscore nescientibus viva voce pronunciant.

§ 218. Edgari regis filia, beata Edgitha, Wiltoniense cœnobium, sedem ossium suorum, [3]dulcibus exuviis exornat, amore fovet; ubi, ab infantia scholæ Dominicæ tradita, incorrupta semper virginitate et frequentibus excubiis Dei gratiam demerebatur, natalium tumorem mentis ingenuitate premens. Unum a majoribus accepi quod non mediocriter judicium offendebat hominum, fallens videlicet oculos eorum auratarum apparatu vestium; siquidem cultioribus indumentis jugiter ornata procederet quam illius [4]professionis sanctitudo exposceret. Unde a sancto Ethelwoldo palam increpata, respondisse fertur, nec inepte nec infacete, 'Verax et irre- St. Edgitha.

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[1] *Erimus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[2] *Rursus.*] *D. E.*; rursum, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Dulcibus.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; ducibus, *E* 1.

[4] *Professionis.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

fragabile judicium Dei, sola mortalium operitur conscientia; nam et in sordibus luctuosis potest esse jactantia. Quapropter puto quod tam incorrupta mens potest esse sub istis vestibus, quam sub tuis discissis pellibus.' Hoc dicto repercussus pontifex, et veritatem dicti approbans taciturnitate sua, lætumque erubescens quod scintillante puellæ sententia fuerit inustus, siluit. Viderat illam sanctus Dunstanus in consecratione basilicæ [1]beati Dionysii, quam illa in amorem [2]martyris ædificaverat, pollicem dextrum frequenter protendere, et signum crucis fronti e regione pingere; delectatusque admodum, 'Nunquam,' inquit, 'putrescat hic digitus.' Continuoque intra missarum agenda prorupit in lachrymas, lachrymas adeo profluas ut singultienti voce discipulum prope astantem concuteret; reique causam quæsitus, 'Cito,' ait, 'hæc florida rosa marcescet; cito avis dilecta Deo avolabit, post sex ab hoc die septimanas.' Consecuta est e vestigio rerum veritas pontificale vaticinium; namque illa, nobilis propositi tenax, prædicta die [3]citra juventæ terminum efflavit; cum esset annorum viginti trium. Nec multo post, idem beatus vidit somnii visione sanctum Dionysium virginem amicabiliter manu tenentem, et ex oraculo divino constanter jubentem ut a famulis honorificaretur in terris, sicut a Sponso et Domino venerabatur in cœlis. Ita crebrescentibus ad tumbam miraculis, edictum ut corpus virgineum levaretur, et altius efferretur; inventumque totum in cineres so-

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[1] *Beati.*] *C. D. E.*; sancti, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Martyris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; matris, *S.*

[3] *Citra juventæ terminum efflavit.*] *C. E. F. L.*; citra imminentem terminum efflatum ut, *D. M.*; citra imminentem terminum efflavit, *A. S.*

lutum præter digitum, et alvum, et alvo subjecta: unde disputantibus nonnullis, uni ex his qui viderant, dormienti, virgo ipsa astitit, dicens; non mirum esse si partes illæ corporis putruerint, quod usus [1]habeat exanimata corpora in quosdam arcanos [2]naturæ sinus defluere, et ipsa utpote puella membris illis peccaverit; cæterum, juste ventrem nulla corrumpi putredine, qui nulla sit aculeatus [3]unquam libidine, immunem se fuisse crapulæ et carnalis copulæ.

§ 219. Sane ambæ istæ virgines meritis suis singula fulciunt cœnobia, adunatis in utroque multarum sanctimonialium cœtibus, quæ, dominabus et magistris suis vocantibus ad gratiam, respondent per obedientiam. Fortunatus qui virginalium orationum particeps fuerit, quarum devotioni se Dominus Jesus placido indulget assensu. Nam, ut de Sceftoniensibus [4]dixi, omnes jamdudum virtutes, terris relictis, cœlum petiere; in solis fere sanctimonialium mentibus, si uspiam sunt terrarum, illas reperies, (quod mihi sanctorum virorum pace dixisse licuerit,) quia multum laudandæ sunt fœminæ quæ, dissimulata sexus infirmitate, certantibus studiis servantes continentiam, opimam ad superos evehunt victoriam.

Character of Eadward the Confessor.

§ 220. Plures e familia regia utriusque sexus cognovisse, ad rem referre arbitror; ut sciatur quod a virtutibus majorum rex Edwardus, de quo ante digressionem dicebam, minime degeneraverit. Denique miraculis et prophetiæ spiritu, sicut deinceps dicam, claruit. In exactionibus vectigalium parcus, quippe qui et exac-

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[1] *Habeat.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; fuerit, *S.*

[2] *Naturæ.*] *A. C. D. E.*; *L.* reads 'illius' after 'naturæ.'

[3] *Unquam.*] Omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Dixi.*] See p. 260, § 163.

tores execraretur; in cibis et potibus regalis luxus immunis; in præcipuis festivitatibus, quamvis amiciretur vestibus auro intextis quas regina sumptuosissime elaboraverat, ita temperans erat, ut nec majestati suæ deesset, nec tamen supercilium attolleret; magis [1]Dei de his munificentiam, quam mundialem gloriam mente versans. Unum erat quo [2]in seculo animum oblectaret suum, cursus canum velocium, quorum circa saltus latratibus solebat lætus applaudere; volatus volucrum, quorum natura est de cognatis avibus prædas agere. Ad hæc exercitia continuis diebus, post audita mane divina officia, intendebat. Cætera, vir Deo voluntarie deditus, inter regni negotia vivebat angelum; pauperibus hospitibusque, maxime [3]transmarinis et religiosis, benignus appellando, munificus dando, et ad illorum sanctitatem monachos suæ patriæ invitando. Erat discretæ proceritatis, barba et capillis cygneus, facie roseus, toto corpore lacteus, membrorum habitudine commoda peridoneus.

§ 221. Viderat quondam, somnii revelatione, seculi illius felicitatem Brihtwoldus Wiltoniensis episcopus; viderat et annunciaverat. Nam dum, tempore regis Cnutonis, cœlestibus apud Glastoniam lucubraret excubiis, subissetque illum cogitatio, quæ frequenter angebat, de regia stirpe [4]Anglorum pene deleta; hæc meditanti sopor irrepsit: et ecce, in superna raptus, videt apostolorum principem, Petrum, ipsum Edwardum, qui tunc in Normannia exulabat, in regem consecrare, cœlibe designata vita, et certo viginti

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[1] *Dei.*] *A. S. L.*; omitted in *C. D. E.*

[2] *In seculo.*] *C. E.*; in hoc seculo, *A. S. D. L.*

[3] *Transmarinis.*] *S. C. E. L.*; after 'transmarinis' *A. D.* read 'monachis.'

[4] *Anglorum.*] *D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

quatuor annorum numero regni computato; eidemque, conquerenti de posteritate, respondere, 'Regnum Anglorum est Dei: post te providit regem ad placitum sui.'

§ 222. Porro ut jam de miraculis dicam: Adolescentula juxta parilitatem natalium virum habens, sed fructu conjugii carens, luxuriantibus circa collum humoribus, turpem valetudinem contraxerat, glandulis protuberantibus horrenda. Jussa somnio lavaturam [1]manuum regis exquirere, curiam ingreditur. Rex ipse, per se opus pietatis adimplens, digitis aqua intinctis collum pertractat mulieris; medicam dextram sanitas festina prosequitur, lethalis crusta dissolvitur, ita ut, vermibus cum sanie profluentibus, omnis ille noxius tumor [2]resideret. Sed, quia hiatus ulcerum fœdus et patulus erat, præcepit eam usque ad integram sanitatem curialibus stipendiis sustentari: [3]verum ante septimanam exactam ita obductis cicatricibus venusta cutis rediit, ut nihil præteriti morbi discerneres; post annum quoque geminam prolem enixa, sanctitatis Edwardi miraculum auxit. Multotiens eum hanc pestem in Normannia sedasse ferunt, qui interius ejus vitam noverunt: unde nostro tempore quidam falsam [4]insumunt operam, qui asseverant istius morbi curationem non ex sanctitate, sed ex regalis prosapiæ [5]hæreditate, fluxisse. His miracles.

§ 223. Cæcatus quidam, quo incommodo incertum, rumorem frequentem in curia severat sanitatem se recepturum si aqua ex ablutione

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[1] *Manuum.*] *A. C. D. E.*; omitted in *S. L.*

[2] *Resideret.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; recederet, *S.*

[3] *Verum.*] *C. D. E.*; verumtamen, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Insumunt.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; insinuunt, *S.*

[5] *Hæreditate, fluxisse.*] See Petr. Bles. in Epist. 150.

Miracles. manuum regis [1]oculos tangeretur: id ad se delatum non paucis nunciis ille riserat, referentes rugato aspectu inspectatus; peccatorem se esse, opera sanctorum virorum sibi non convenire. Verum ministri non negligendum arbitrati, eo nesciente, sed in [2]ecclesia orante, [3]somnio credulitatem faciunt: namque confestim [4]ut lotus est aqua, diuturnis tenebris exulantibus, lux tempestiva orbes implevit, læto fragore plaudentium suscitato. Rex causam percunctatus edidicit; moxque certitudine visus ejus comperta, quod scilicet, digitos suos in oculos sanati intentans, illum reducto capite cavere cerneret, gratias Deo porrectis in cœlum manibus egit. Eodem modo sanavit cæcum quendam Lincoliæ, qui multis annis supervixit, regalis index miraculi.

§ 224. Et ut perfectam viri virtutem, in hac præsertim potentia, cognoscas, subjiciam quod mireris. Wulfwinus quidam, cognomento Spillecorn, filius Wulmari de Nutegareshale, quadam die in sylva Bruelle ligna cædens, dum diuturno post laborem sopori indulsisset, sanguine ut credo circa oculos coagulato, visum decem et septem annis amisit; quibus evolutis, somnio edoctus, octoginta et septem ecclesias circuivit, remedium cæcitatis a sanctis efflagitans. Postremo, ad regis curiam veniens, vestibulum cameræ, adversantibus cubiculariis, frustra diu trivit; sed perstitit improbus pulsator, donec ægre admodum [5]rege ipso jubente [6]admissus est. Audiens quippe somnium innocue responderat, 'Per

[1] *Oculos tangeretur.*] *C. E. L.*; oculos tangeret, *A. S. D.*

[2] *Ecclesia.*] *C. D. E. L.*; ecclesia Dei, *A. S.*

[3] *Somnio.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[4] *Ut lotus est aqua.*] *S. E. C. L.*; ut secus lotus est, *A. D.*

[5] *Rege ipso.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; 'ipso' omitted in *E* 1.

[6] *Admissus est.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; ipse admissus est, *C.*

dominam meam sanctam Mariam, multum grate feram si Deus voluerit per me misero misereri.' Itaque, quanquam nihil de miraculis auderet, coactus a ministris cum aqua cæco manum imposuit; [1]confestimque sanguine ex oculis ubertim stillante, clamorem alacrem sanatus produxit, 'Video te, rex; video te, rex!' Ita videns, regali palatio multis temporibus apud Windeleshores, nam ibi curatus fuerat, præfuit, sanatoris annos longævitate vitæ transcendens. Ipso die, ex eadem aqua, tres cæci et unus monoculus, qui regali eleemosyna pascebantur, sanati sunt; ministris plena fide liquorem salutiferum largientibus. **Miracles.**

§ 225. Die sancti Paschæ ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, et optimatum turma circumvallatus. Cumque alii, longam Quadragesimæ inediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis avocato animo, divinum quiddam speculatus, mentes convivantium permovit, ampliorem [2]effusus in risum; nulloque causam lætitiæ perquirere præsumente, tunc quidem ita tacitum, donec edendi satietas obsoniis finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum prosecuti, quorum unus erat [3]Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quare riserit; mirum omnibus, nec immerito, videri, quare in tanta [4]serietate diei et negotii, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. 'Stupenda,' inquit, 'vidi, nec ideo sine causa risi.' Tum illi, ut moris est humani ingenii, sciscitari **Visions.**

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[1] *Confestimque.*] *C. D. E.*; confestim, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Effusus.*] *C. D. E.*; perfusus, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Haroldus.*] *C. E.*; comes Haroldus, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Serietate.*] *C. E. L.*; serenitate, *A. S. D.*

Visions. et quærere causam ardentius, [1] ut supplicibus dignanter rem impertiatur. Ille, multum cunctatus, tandem instantibus mira respondit: Septem dormientes in Cælio monte [2] requiescere jam ducentis annis in dextro jacentes latere; sed tunc, in hora ipsa risus sui, latus invertisse sinistrum; futurum ut septuaginta quatuor annis ita jaceant, dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis quæ Dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis; 'gentem contra gentem surrecturam, et regnum adversus regnum, terræmotus per loca, pestilentiam et famem, terrores de cœlo et signa magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christicolarum in paganos victorias.' Talia mirantibus inculcans passionem septem dormientium, et habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita prompte disseruit ac si cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exsculpendam, Manicheti Constantinopolitano imperatori misere, adjectis regis sui literis et muneribus. Eos ille, benigne secum habitos, episcopo Ephesi destinavit, epistola pariter quam sacram vocant comitante, ut ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ [3] septem dormientium

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[1] *Ut supplicibus dignanter rem impertiatur.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; ut supplicibus rem diligentius impertiatur, *C.*

[2] *Requiescere.*] *E.*; quiescere, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[3] *Septem dormientium martiriales exuviæ.*] The seven sleepers were inhabitants of Ephesus: six were persons of some consequence; the seventh their servant. During the Decian persecution they retired to a cave, whence they dispatched their attendant occasionally to purchase food for them. Decius, hearing this, ordered the mouth of the cave to be stopped up while the fugitives were sleeping. After a lapse of some hundred years, a part of the masonry at the mouth of the cave falling, the light flowing in awakened them. Thinking they had enjoyed a good night's rest,

martiriales exuviæ. Factumque est, et vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse jurarent super dextrum illos latus requiescere; sed, post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarent. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, et Arabes, et Turchi, alienæ scilicet a Christo gentes, Syriam, et Liciam, et Minorem Asiam omnino, et Majoris urbes multas, inter quas et Ephesum, ipsam etiam Ierosolymam, depopulati, super Christianos invaderent. Tunc etiam, mortuo Manichete Constantinopolis imperatore, Diogenes, et Michaelius, ac Bucinacius, et Alexius vicissim se de imperio præcipitarunt: quorum ultimus, ad nostra tempora usque durans, Johannem filium reliquit hæredem, astutia et fraudibus quam probitate notior, multa noxia in peregrinos sacri itineris machinatus; [1]Anglorum tamen fidem suspiciens, præcipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens. His septem annis proximis tres papæ, [2]Victor, [3]Stephanus, [4]Nicolaus, apostolatus

Visions.

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they dispatched their servant to buy provisions. He finds all appear strange in Ephesus, and a whimsical dialogue takes place; the citizens accusing him of having found hidden treasure, and he persisting that he offered the current coin of the empire. At length the attention of the emperor is excited, and he goes in company with the bishop to visit them. They relate their story, and shortly after expire. In consequence of the miracle, they were considered as martyrs. See Capgrave, Legenda Nova. (Sharpe, 287.)

[1] *Anglorum tamen fidem suspiciens, præcipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens.*] On the Norman conquest many English fled to Constantinople, where they were eagerly received by Alexius, and opposed to the Normans under Robert Guiscard. (Orderic. Vitalis, p. 508.)

[2] *Victor.*] Victor II. He succeeded Leo IX. in 1056, and died in 1057.

[3] *Stephanus.*] Frederic, brother of Duke Godefroi, succeeded Victor II. on the 2nd of August 1057.

[4] *Nicolaus.*] He succeeded to the holy see in 1059.

Visions. vigorem continuis mortibus labefactarunt: e vestigio quoque [1] Henricus, pius Romanorum imperator, defunctus, successorem Henricum filium habuit, qui multas oppressiones [2] orbi Romano fatuitate nequitiaque sua intulit. Eodem anno [3] Henricus rex Francorum, miles strenuus et bonus, potionis haustu interiit. Non multo post, cometes stella, ut ferunt, mutationes regnorum prætendens, longos et flammeos crines per [4] inane ducens, apparuit: unde pulchre quidam nostri monasterii monachus, Eilmerus nomine, viso coruscantis astri terrore conquiniscens, 'Venisti,' inquit, 'venisti, multis matribus lugende; dudum est quod te vidi, sed nunc multo terribiliorem te intueor, patriæ hujus excidium vibrantem.' Is erat literis, quantum ad id temporis, bene imbutus, ævo maturus, immanem audaciam prima juventute conatus: nam pennas manibus et pedibus haud scio qua innexuerat arte, ut Dædali more volaret, fabulam pro vero amplexus, collectaque e summo turris aura, spatio stadii et plus volavit; sed venti et turbinis violentia, simul et temerarii facti conscientia, tremulus cecidit, perpetuo post hæc debilis, et crura effractus. Ipse ferebat causam ruinæ quod caudam in posteriori parte oblitus fuerit.

§ 226. Similem huic prophetiam Edwardus mo-

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[1] *Henricus, pius Romanorum imperator, defunctus.*] Henry III. died at Botfeld, on the confines of Saxe, in the autumn of the year 1056.

[2] *Orbi Romano.*] *C. E. L.*; urbi Romanæ, *A. S. D.*

[3] *Henricus rex Francorum . . . potionis haustu interiit.*] Henry died on the 4th of Aug. 1060. 'Causa corporeæ salutis, a Joanne, medicorum peritissimo, potionem accepit: sed veneno nimiam sitim inferente, jussum archiatri sprevit; et a cubiculario potum accipiens, dum medicus abesset, ante purgationem bibit. Unde nimis infirmatus, eodem die post perceptionem sacræ eucharistiæ obiit.' (Will. Gemet. Historia, c. XXVIII.) Compare Orderic. Vitalis, p. 480.

[4] *Inane.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; mane, *S.*

riens exhibuit, quam hic per anticipationem dicam. Cum enim biduo elinguis jacuisset, die tertio post soporem graviter ac profunde suspirans, 'Deus,' inquit, 'omnipotens, si non est fantastica illusio, sed verax visio, quam vidi, da mihi facultatem eam astantibus exponendi, aut e converso. Ita mox expedita loquela, 'Duos,' inquit, 'modo monachos vidi mihi assistere, quos adolescens olim in Normannia videram religiosissime vixisse et Christianissime obisse. Hi se Dei nuncios præfati, talia ingessere: "Quoniam primores Angliæ, duces, episcopi, et abbates, non sunt ministri Dei, sed diaboli, tradidit Deus hoc regnum post obitum tuum anno uno et die uno in manu inimici, pervagabunturque dæmones totam hanc terram." Cumque ego hæc me ostensurum populo dicerem, illumque pœnitentia facta liberandum, præmisso exemplo Ninivitarum, promitterem, "Neutrum," aiunt, "erit; quia nec ipsi pœnitebunt, nec Deus eis miserebitur." Et quando, inquam, tantarum calamitatum remissio sperari poterit. "Tunc," inquiunt, "quasi si arbor viridis succidatur in medio, et pars abscissa deportetur a stipite trium jugerum spatio, cum sine quolibet adminiculo, suo iterum connexa trunco, cœperit et floribus pubescere et fructus protrudere ex coalescentis succi amore pristino, tunc demum poterit sperari talium malorum remissio."' Visions.

§ 227. Hujus vaticinii veritatem, quamvis cæteris timentibus, tunc Stigandi archiepiscopi risus excepisset, dicentis vetulum accedente morbo nugas delirare. Hujus ergo vaticinii veritatem nos experimur, quod scilicet Anglia exterorum facta est habitatio et alienigenarum dominatio. Nullus hodie Anglus vel dux, vel pontifex, vel abbas; advenæ quique divitias et viscera corro- State of England.

dunt Angliæ; nec ulla spes est finiendæ miseriæ. Cujus mali causam tempus est, sicut dudum spopondi, ut sermo noster paucis absolvere tentet.

Cause of England's troubles.

§ 228. Rex Edwardus pronus in senium, quod ipse non susceperat liberos, et Godwini videret invalescere filios, misit ad regem Hunorum ut filium fratris Edmundi, Edwardum, cum omni familia sua mitteret: futurum, ut aut ille aut filii sui succedant regno hæreditario Angliæ; orbitatem suam cognatorum suffragio sustentari debere. [1]Ita venit Edwardus, sed continuo apud sanctum Paulum Londoniæ fato functus est, tribus liberis superstitibus; vir neque promptus manu, neque probus ingenio: Edgaro, qui post occisionem Haroldi a quibusdam in regem electus, et vario lusu fortunæ rotatus, [2]pene decrepitum diem ignobilis ruri agit; Christina, quæ sanctimoniali habitu apud Rumesiam consenuit; Margareta, quam Malcolmus rex Scottorum legitimo matrimonio duxit. Hæc, numerosa prole fœcunda, habuit filios Edgarum et Alexandrum qui post patrem regnaverunt in Scotia successione continua; nam senior, [3]Edwardus, in bello cum patre occubuit; junior, David, mansuetudine et sapientia celebris, rex Scotiæ modo habetur: filias, Matildem quam nostro seculo rex Henricus, Mariam quam Eustachius junior comes Bononiæ, uxores duxerunt. Rex itaque defuncto cognato, quia spes prioris erat soluta suffragii, [4]Willelmo comiti Normanniæ successionem

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[1] *Ita venit Edwardus.*] Eadward returned to England in 1057, and died in the same year.

[2] *Pene.*] *C. D. E.*; nunc pene, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Edwardus, in bello cum patre occubuit.*] King Malcolm and his son Edward were slain A.D. 1093.

[4] *Willelmo comiti Normanniæ successionem Angliæ dedit.*] 'Edwardus, senio jam gravatus, etc. ad cognatum suum Wilhelmum comitem Normanniæ animum

Angliæ dedit. Erat ille hoc munere dignus, præstans animi juvenis, et qui in supremum fastigium alacri labore excreverat; præterea proxime consanguineus, filius Roberti filii Ricardi secundi, quem fratrem fuisse Emmæ matris Edwardi non semel est quod diximus. [1] Ferunt quidam ipsum Haroldum a rege in hoc Normanniam missum: alii, secretioris consilii conscii, invitum, venti violentia illuc actum, quo se tueretur invenisse commentum; quod, [2] quia propius vero videtur, exponam. Haroldus in prædium juris sui [3] Boseham venerat: ibi, ut animum oblectaret suum, piscatorium conscendit navigium, et interim quidem longiusculo ludo in altum proceditur; sed, subito adversa tempestate coorta, ipse cum sodalibus in Pontivum pagum compellitur. Homines illius regionis, pro more gentis insito, repente ex omni parte convolavere; inermes ab armatis, pauci a pluribus (quod facile fuit) oppressi, manus manicis, pedes compedibus præbuere. Haroldus, astuto pectore volvens casus remedium, hominem promissis ingentibus sollicitatum ad Willelmum mittit: missum se Normanniam a rege, ut quod minores nuncii balbutierant ipse potissimum sua confirmaret præsen-

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apposuit, et eum sibi succedere in regnum Angliæ voce stabili sancivit.' (Ingulph. p. 899.) The succession of William to the throne of England is a point more involved in obscurity than any other of our history.

[1] *Ferunt quidam ipsum Haroldum a rege in hoc Normanniam missum.*] 'Edwardus Anglorum rex, successione prolis carens, olim miserat Willelmo duci Rodbertum Cantuariorum archipræsulem, ex regno a Deo sibi attributo illum statuens hæredem. Deinde Heraldum, cunctorum suæ dominationis comitum divitiis et honore ac potentia maximum, duci destinavit, ut ei de corona sua fidelitatem faceret, ac Christiano more sacramentis firmaret.' (Will. Gemet. Hist. c. XXXI.) See also Guil. Pictav. An. 1065, inter Norm. Script.

[2] *Quia propius vero videtur, exponam.*] *E.* omits 'vero.'—Compare this statement with Chron. Roberti de Monte ad Sigebertum, apud Acherium, p. 721.

[3] *Boseham.*] Near Chichester.

tia; in vinculis a Guidone Pontivi comite detineri, quo minus mandata exequatur; barbarum et effrænatum morem regionis esse, ut qui evaserant in mari naufragium, in terra invenirent periculum; convenire tanti nominis viro ne impunitum dimittat, quod fidem ejus appellantibus vincula injecta nonnihil de majestate ipsius diminuerint; si pecuniis exuenda captivitas esset, libens daret Willelmo comiti, non semiviro Guidoni. Ita Haroldus, Willelmo mandante, liberatus, et ab ipso Guidone Normanniam ductus est. Comes eum magna dignatione, gentilitio ornatu in cibis et vestibus coluit; et ut notiorem faceret, simul et virtutem experiretur, Brittannica expeditione, quam tunc forte susceperat, secum habuit. Ibi Haroldus, et ingenio et manu probatus, Normannum in sui amorem convertit; atque, ut se magis commendaret, ultro illi tunc quidem castellum Doroberniæ quod ad jus suum pertineret, et post mortem Edwardi regnum Anglicum, sacramento firmavit: quare et filiæ, adhuc impubis, desponsione, et totius patrimonii amplitudine donatus, familiarium partium habebatur. Nec multum temporis intercessit quod, illo domum reverso, [1]rex in Natale Domini apud Londoniam [2]coronatus est; ibidemque morbo ictus, [3]quod se moriturum sciret, [4]ecclesiam Westmo-

[1] *Rex.*] *S. C. E. L.*; rex Edwardus, *A. D. M.*

[2] *Coronatus est.*] It was customary for the king to wear his crown on the solemn festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas; it being placed on his head in due form by the archbishop of Canterbury. (See Ailr. Riev. De Vit. S. Edwardi.)

[3] *Quod.*] *C. D. E.*; quo, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Ecclesiam Westmonasterii die Innocentum dedicari præcepit.*] Westminster Abbey was consecrated on the 28th Dec. 1065. Ailred of Rievaulx, in his Life of Eadward, states that the church had been commenced some years before, in performance of a vow the king had made to go to Rome; but, being dissuaded from it, he sent to the pope to obtain his dispensation from that jour-

nasterii die Innocentum dedicari præcepit. Ita, aevi plenus et gloriæ, [1]simplicem spiritum cœlesti regno exhibuit; et in eadem ecclesia die Theophaniæ sepultus est, quam ipse illo compositionis genere primus in Anglia ædificaverat quod nunc pene cuncti sumptuosis æmulantur expensis. Progenies West-Saxonum, quæ in Britannia a Cerdicio quingentis et septuaginta uno annis, ab Egberto ducentis et sexaginta uno regnaverat, in illo ad regnandum omnino defecit: nam recenti adhuc regalis funeris luctu, Haroldus, ipso Theophaniæ die, extorta a principibus fide, arripuit diadema, quamvis Angli dicant a rege concessum; quod tamen magis benevolentia quam judicio allegari existimo, ut illi hæreditatem transfunderet suam cujus semper suspectam habuerat potentiam; quamvis, ut non celetur veritas, pro persona quam gerebat, regnum prudentia et fortitudine gubernaret si legitime suscepisset. Denique, vivente Edwardo, quæcunque contra eum bella incensa sunt virtute sua compressit, cupiens se provincialibus ostentare, in regnum scilicet spe prurienti anhelans. Griffinum, [2]ut supra dixi, regem Walensium, et prius bello vicit, et postmodum multis nisibus resurgere conantem capite privavit; successores duos ex satellitibus suis, fratres ejusdem Griffini, Blegent et Riwallonem, qui eum obse-

Death of Eadward the Confessor.

Harold, A.D. 1066.

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ney: the pope granted it, on condition that Eadward should, with the money he would have spent in that voyage, build a monastery in honour of St. Peter.

[1] *Simplicem spiritum cœlesti regno exhibuit.*] The editor of the Saxon Chronicle (Rev. J. Ingram) suggests that Malmesbury has adopted the very expression of the threnodia on the death of Eadward the Confessor,—'Here Eadward king, of Angles lord, sent his steadfast soul to Christ, *in the kingdom of God a holy spirit.*' (Sax. Chron. An. 1065.) King Eadward died on Thursday the 5th of Jan. 1066, after a reign of twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days.

[2] *Ut supra dixi.*] § 196, p. 330.

A.D. 1066. quio demeruerant, constituens. Eodem anno Tostinus, a Flandria in Humbram navigio sexaginta navium delatus, ea quæ circa oram fluminis erant piraticis excursionibus infestabat; sed ab Edwino et Morchardo, concordis potentiæ fratribus, impigre de provincia pulsus, versus Scotiam vela convertit: ibi regi Noricorum, [1]Haroldo Harvagre, obvio manus dedit, qui cum trecentis navibus Angliam aggredi meditabatur. Ambo ergo consertis umbonibus terram Transhumbranam populabantur; germanos recenti victoria feriatos, qui nihil minus quam talia latrocinia metuerent, Sept. 20. aggressi, victos intra Eboracum includunt. Haroldus, nuncio accepto, cunctis viribus [2]regni eo contendit: pugna ingens commissa, utrisque gentibus extrema vi nitentibus. Battle of Standford Bridge, Sept. 25. Angli, superiorem manum nacti, Noricos in fugam egerunt: sed tantorum et tot virorum victoriam (quod forsitan posteritas difficile credat) unus Noricus multa hora interpolavit; siquidem, in ingressu pontis qui [3]Stantford-brigge dicitur consistens, uno et altero et pluribus nostræ partis interemptis, omnes a transitu arcuit. Invitatus ad deditionem, ut tanti roboris homo largam clementiam Anglorum experiretur, invitantes ridebat; subinde, rugato vultu increpitans, imbecillis animi homines esse qui nequirent uni resistere. Nemine itaque propius accedente, quod inconsultum æstimarent cum illo cominus congredi qui salutis omne viaticum desperatus effunderet, unus ex collatera-

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[1] *Haroldo Harvagre.*] Harald named the Fair-haired: he is frequently called Hardrade (Severus), to distinguish him from Harald Harfagra, who was contemporary with Aelfred the Great.

[2] *Regni.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[3] *Stantford-brigge.*] The battle of Standford Bridge took place on the 25th of Sept. 1066.

libus regis jaculum ferreum in eum eminus vibrat; [1]quo ille, dum gloriabundus proludit, ipsa securitate incautior, terebratus, victoriam Anglis concessit. Continuo enim libero transitu exercitus trajectus, Noricos palantes a tergo cecidit. Rex Harvagre et Tostinus interempti, [2]regis filius cum omnibus navibus domum clementer remissus. Haroldus, triumphali eventu superbus, nullis partibus prædæ commilitones dignatus est: quapropter multi, quo quisque poterat dilapsi, regem ad bellum Hastingense proficiscentem destituere; nam, præter stipendiarios et mercenarios milites, paucos admodum ex provincialibus habuit. Unde, cum suis quos ductabat, post novem menses et aliquot dies accepti regni, astutia Willelmi circumventus, fusus est; leni videlicet belli negotio, sed occulto et stupendo Dei consilio, quod nunquam postea Angli communi prælio in libertatem spiraverint; quasi cum Haroldo omne robur deciderit Angliæ, qui certe potuit, et debuit, (etiam per inertissimos,) solvere pœnas perfidiæ. Nec, hoc dicens, virtuti Normannorum derogo; quibus, tum pro genere, tum pro beneficiis, fidem habeo. Sed mihi videntur errare qui Anglorum numerum accumulant et fortitudinem extenuant; ita Normannos, dum laudare intendunt, infamia respergunt. Insignis enim plane laus gentis invictissimæ, ut illos vicerit quos multitudo impeditos, ignavia fecerit timidos; immo vero pauci et manu promptissimi fuere, qui, caritati corporum renunciantes, pro patria animas posuere. Sed, quia hæc diligen-

Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14.

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[1] *Quo.*] *A.C.D.E.*; quod, *S. L.*

[2] *Regis filius.*] His name appears to have been Edmund. (Sax. Chron.)

tiorem relationem expectant, nunc dabo secundo libello terminum, ut et mihi dictandi et aliis lectitandi revirescat studium.

EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.

FINIS VOLUMINIS I.

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